

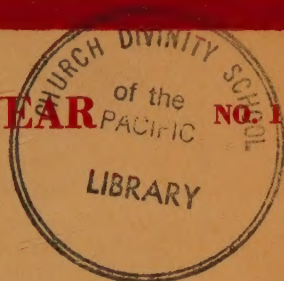
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The CHURCHMAN

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ANGLICAN THEOLOGY

DL. LXXV.

EIGHTY-SECOND YEAR



Editorial

Episcopacy and Reunion

The Church of England and Apostolic Succession

Eucharist and Offertory: The Anglican Tradition

Huldreich Zwingli, Swiss Reformer

For complete list of contents see within

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THE CHURCHMAN

Editor :

THE REV. PHILIP E. HUGHES, M.A., B.D., D.Litt.

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Editorial

SINCE the appearance of our last issue the announcement has been made of Dr. Geoffrey Fisher's resignation from the Archbishopric of Canterbury and of the nomination of Dr. A. M. Ramsey to succeed him as Primate of All England. Dr. Ramsey's successor at York is to be Dr. F. D. Coggan, the present Bishop of Bradford. We take this opportunity of wishing Dr. Fisher God's blessing during the years of his retirement, and we warmly welcome Dr. Ramsey and Dr. Coggan to the historic thrones of Canterbury and York, praying that God will be with them, giving them grace and strength for the arduous offices which they have been called to fill, and granting them wisdom and courage to lead our Church in the way of scriptural religion. We are convinced that Dr. Ramsey has left behind him the frame of mind which, some years ago, led him to make the unhappy application of the name of heresy to certain distinctive Evangelical tenets, and that Evangelicals may look with assurance to him for understanding and co-operation.

To Evangelicals, the appointment of Dr. Coggan to the Archbishopric of York is, of course, particularly gratifying, for in him they have one who has always been closely identified with Evangelical religion and who can be expected to give condign prominence to the great Evangelical emphases which at times have suffered a lamentable neglect in the leadership of the Church of England. We may depend on him to call attention to the urgent need for biblical preaching and evangelism in the parishes of our land. It is cause for thanksgiving, too, that the two new Archbishops of Canterbury and York are men of theological scholarship and learning: may they be active in raising our Church out of the morass of relativism, non-propositionalism, and compromise with unregenerate modes of thought into which it has, in large measure, sunk! When our Church returns to the unhesitating acknowledgment of the absolute sovereignty of Almighty God, the all-sufficiency of divine grace, the sole mediatorship of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the complete authority of Holy Scripture as the Word of God to fallen man, then it will become a powerful spiritual force in our nation and in our world once again. It is in this direction that we look to our leaders to guide us.

* * * *

In America, where this Editorial is being written, strong interest has been aroused by the proposal, made in December by Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., in a sermon preached from the pulpit of Grace Episcopal Cathedral, San Francisco, that the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Methodist Church, and the United Church of Christ, plus any other churches that might fancy the idea, should formulate "a plan of church union both catholic and reformed". What he presumed to describe as "the chasm of the Reformation" would, he suggested,

begin to be bridged over when those who, like himself, were of the reformation tradition, recaptured "an appreciation of all that has been preserved by the catholic parts of the Church" and those who were of the catholic tradition were willing "to accept and take to themselves as of God all that nearly 500 years of reformation has contributed to the renewal of Christ's Church". He explained that by "catholic" he meant, not Roman Catholic, but Anglo-Catholic or high church. The union he proposed for the present would give promise of much wider union, "looking ultimately to the reunion of the whole of Christ's Church".

Dr. Blake defined three principles of reunion that were important to those who belong to the "catholic" tradition. (1) "Visible and historical continuity with the Church of all ages before and after the Reformation". This would be achieved under the symbol of the historic episcopate and would involve, it seems, a sort of general re-ordination of the whole ministry of the uniting churches. It is added that this proposal "implies no questioning of the reality of any previous consecration or ordination". Presumably, if this policy were to be consistently observed, a fresh general re-ordination would have to take place on every occasion that a new church joined those that had already been united! (2) The clear confession of "the historic trinitarian faith received from the Apostles and set forth in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds". (3) The administration of the two sacraments instituted by Christ.

He then defined four principles of reunion that were regarded as important by those who belong to the "reformation" tradition (1) "Continuing reformation under the Word of God by the guidance of the Holy Spirit"—but with the warning that "so long as the wording *sola scriptura* is required, no bridge can be made between catholic and evangelical": a place must be found for tradition alongside of Scripture, as "ecumenical conversations" were making clear. (2) The government of the reunited church in a truly democratic manner, free from clericalism and priestly authoritarianism, laity and ministry being accorded an equal share in it. (3) Simplicity of clerical vesture and titles. (4) A catholicity of such a kind as to include "a wide diversity of theological formulation of the faith" and "a variety of worship and liturgy including worship that is non-liturgical".

The sermon concluded, the Right Reverend James A. Pike, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of California, in whose cathedral it was uttered, expressed "an enthusiastic Amen" to what "this great Christian leader" had said, and eulogized Dr. Blake's "prophetic proclamation" as "the most sound and inspiring proposal for the unity of the church in this country which has ever been made in its history".

The enthusiastic reaction of the Bishop of California is of unusual interest because in the same issue (December 21) of *The Christian Century* which reproduced the text of Dr. Blake's sermon, there is published an article from his pen in the series "How My Mind Has Changed". In this frank article he explains how over the past ten years he has become more liberal in theology. "When Norman Pittenger and I were writing *The Faith of the Church* . . . he did not

find reason to accept the historical virgin birth ; I thought I did," he informs us. But the passing years have seen a change : " Now I am with him " ; though at the same time he assures us that he would not deny " the possibility of the miracle ", and that he does not " deny in the least the *doctrine* of the virgin birth ". Thus this ex-Roman Catholic former lawyer tantalizes his readers with a concept anchored to an event which never occurred !

Again, Dr. Pike confesses that he no longer regards " grace, or the work of the Holy Spirit, as limited explicitly to the Christian revelation ". If this were an allusion to what is known as *common* grace, there would be few to find it startling. But the context makes it clear that he is speaking in terms of *special* or saving grace. Accordingly, in his evolutionary relativistic heaven, he finds room for Buddha, Socrates, and Freud ; and to those who object that Sigmund Freud was an avowed atheist he retorts, " he is not one now," and declares that " God can manifest Himself through those who (due to their particular mentality—after all, Freud was a nineteenth century intellectual) deny His very existence ". Today for Bishop Pike salvation is something " broader than any particular historical revelation, even the full revelation in Jesus Christ ".

Finding himself embarrassed by specific articles of the Christian creed, Dr. Pike confides that he now prefers the creed to be *sung* rather than said, on the strength of the quite extraordinary presupposition that when a statement is sung it ceases to be literal prose and *ipso facto* becomes non-factual poetry. " There are certain phrases in the creed that I cannot affirm as literal prose sentences," he says, " but I can certainly sing them—as a kind of war song picturing major convictions in poetic terms ".

The Trinity, to take another example, is a doctrine which the Bishop of California " did not question ten years ago ". But now he thinks otherwise. He mentions a conversation which he had several months ago with the Jewish philosopher, Martin Buber, who " cannot understand why we had to develop the Trinity concept ". " I am with him," he confesses, " in thinking that all the verbiage associated with the Trinity is quite unnecessary. . . . I can't see its permanent value. . . . I see nothing in the Bible, as critically viewed, which supports this particularly weak and unintelligible philosophical organization of the nature of God."

Now all this, it is true, took place on American soil, and different people will regard it as sad, shocking, or stale, according to their outlook ; but none the less, it is relevant to the situation elsewhere in the world, for Bishop Pike and Dr. Blake are prominent figures in the contemporary ecumenical movement which now looms so large on the ecclesiastical horizon of our world. Later in this year the World Council of Churches is to hold an important assembly at New Delhi at which it is expected that approval will be given to the proposal to include in the basis of membership specific mention both of the authority of Holy Scripture and of the Trinitarian Godhead. But we now feel forced to ask whether there is any guarantee that this filling out of the basis of membership will in fact *mean* anything. Dr. Blake demands the abandonment of the *sola scriptura* as an ecumenical *sine qua non*,

and at the same time calls for the clear confession of "the historic trinitarian faith received from the Apostles and set forth in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds", oblivious of the fundamental fact that the *sola scriptura* was for the ancient Church and still is the essential authenticating source of the very creeds he names. Dr. Pike gives vent to "an enthusiastic Amen" in response to Dr. Blake's exhortation, but deplores the historic trinitarian faith as a "particularly weak and unintelligible philosophical organization of the nature of God"; he is unwilling to recite the creed as literal prose; and he denies the uniqueness of the Christian revelation. But he will *sing* the articles of the creed as mythological poetry, and perhaps after the lapse of another ten years he will find it expedient to sing not only the creed but also the prayers and the liturgy and his sermons. In the spirit of the poet Shelley who wrote the line, "Naught may endure but Mutability," Bishop Pike would seem, to our regret, to have departed from the primitive concept of the bishop as the guardian of apostolic doctrine and to have joined the company of those who proclaim that naught may be absolute but Relativity. Henceforth, presumably, life will be further complicated by the necessity of having to make a distinction between what bishops sing and what they say, and to draw the appropriate conclusions.

We have no reason to doubt that the majority of those who are involved in the ecumenical movement today are able truthfully to say the creed *ex animo* from beginning to end, but it is now, if anything, more than ever necessary that those who can do so should exert the utmost influence to hold the movement within the mainstream of historic Christianity. Schemes for general re-ordinations, accompanied by hollow assurances that they imply no questioning of previously held orders, may lead to a bureaucratic unity of Adullamites governed by a board of career-bishops which is remote from genuine *Church* unity (in the innermost sense of that term) and which would be destructive rather than constructive of the apostolic character of the Church of Christ. The moment is one for engagement, not disengagement. If, however, the World Council of Churches should become dominated by a leadership that is less than distinctively Christian, if its positive affirmations are ever to be interpreted as belonging to the "sung" category, then the inclusion of trinitarian and creedal formulas will guarantee precisely nothing, it had better be reconstituted as the World Council of Religious Relativity, and it will be no place for those who hold fast to the scriptural and evangelical heritage of the Apostolic Church.

P.E.H.

Episcopacy and Reunion

BY GEOFFREY LAMPE

Christ is gone up ; yet ere He passed
From earth, in heaven to reign,
He formed one holy Church to last
Till He should come again.

His twelve apostles first He made
His ministers of grace ;
And they their hands on others laid,
To fill in turn their place.

So age by age, and year by year,
His grace was handed on ;
And still the holy Church is here,
Although her Lord is gone.

THERE could be no clearer statement than J. M. Neale's hymn of what is commonly called the "pipe-line" theory of apostolic succession, or, more respectfully, the Tractarian doctrine of the ministry. It is now customary for all schools of thought in Anglicanism to repudiate that theory in the crude form in which it appealed so strongly to Keble and the other fathers of the Oxford Movement. The theology of an absent Christ for whom the Church (rather than the Holy Spirit) deputizes ; of a ministry derived from the Jesus of Galilee by historical continuity rather than from the glorified Christ, now and always present with His people through the Spirit ; and of the ministry thus constituted as the exclusive channel of supernatural grace—all such theology would, in varying measures and with differing emphasis, be either modified or rejected outright by present-day Anglicans. The history upon which the Tractarian theory was supposed to rest could not now be accepted. It was possible in the sixteenth century to assert that "it is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church : Bishops, Priests, and Deacons". The past century has shown, not only that the existence of the threefold ministry in apostolic times is by no means evident to all students of the Bible and the Fathers, but that very few even among Anglicans believe in it. The long process of investigation into, and controversy about, the origins of the Christian ministry has demonstrated one certain fact : that there was no such clear-cut process of the transmission of the Lord's authority and grace from the apostles to the threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons as the theory of J. M. Neale presupposed.

The essay of J. B. Lightfoot on *The Christian Ministry* rendered that theory in its simpler and cruder form untenable. K. E. Kirk's *The Apostolic Ministry* probably represents the failure of the last, and

perhaps the most desperate, attempt to salvage the essential historical basis of the Tractarian structure from the damage inflicted on it by Hatch, Streeter, and many others, and to reconstruct it in a more acceptable form. Unhappily, not only does the patently false opening sentence of the Preface to the Ordinal continue to appear, unchallenged and unquestioned, within the covers of the Book of Common Prayer, but, however vigorously Anglicans may disown the "pipe-line" theory of apostolic succession, their Church continues to act in its relations with non-episcopal communions as though that theory were true. Thus the main tradition of the pre-Tractarian Church of England has been effectively set aside, and the not inconsiderable number of Anglicans who adhere to that tradition find themselves continually committed to a false position.

A striking example of this is afforded by the statement of the Lambeth Committee on "Church Unity and the Church Universal" concerning the Anglican-Presbyterian conversations: "Anglicans conscientiously hold that the celebrant of the Eucharist should have been ordained by a bishop standing in the historic succession, and generally believe it to be their duty to bear witness to this principle by receiving Holy Communion only from those who have thus been ordained". If the first clause meant only that Anglicans believe that it is desirable that the celebrant of the Eucharist should be an episcopally ordained minister, that in a reunited Church all those who celebrate the Eucharist should be episcopally ordained, and that the Church of England acts rightly in requiring that its own regular ministry should be so ordained, there could be no quarrel with this statement. It is clear, however, from what follows that the statement commits "Anglicans" as a body to quite another view: that episcopal ordination is so necessary for the celebrant of the Eucharist that, if the Sacrament is celebrated by a non-episcopally ordained minister, no Anglican ought to receive Communion from him. Yet many Anglicans hold no such belief. They do not take the view that the historic episcopate is of the *esse* of the Church, for they hold that the Holy Spirit, through Word and Sacraments, constitutes the Church, and the Ministry is not constitutive of the Church but expressive of its order and unity. Neither the efficacy nor the validity of the sacraments depends upon the maintenance of a particular type of Church Order. Yet they find themselves committed against their own conscience to a position which they conceive to be illogical and indefensible.

It is illogical because it is constantly asserted, on the one hand, that the ministries of the English Free Churches and the Church of Scotland are real ministries within the Catholic Church of Christ, and that Anglicans do not for a moment wish to question their spiritual efficacy; yet at the same time Anglicans are told that they should not receive Holy Communion at the hands of those ministers, but should wait until the Church of England is reunited organically with the bodies to which they belong and they have been given episcopal ordination. Thus, what is asserted in word is denied in practice. The Tractarian doctrine of apostolic succession in its original rigidity would maintain that non-episcopal ministries are no true ministries at all; that the ministers of those bodies which have cut themselves off from the channel of

which Christ's grace is transmitted to his Church in every age are simply laymen ; and that the sacraments which they purport to administer are no sacraments at all, though, of course, the uncovenanted mercy of God can be relied on to ensure that those who receive them in good faith as sacraments will not fail to receive a blessing. On this view it would be fully understandable that Anglicans should abstain from Communion where the celebrant was not episcopally ordained ; but to acknowledge that the sacraments of non-episcopal churches are real, and that their ministries are real and efficacious and within the one, internally divided, Church, and yet to refuse to communicate at the hands of their ministers is indefensible if the reason for refusal is the maintenance of the principle that only an episcopally ordained minister can celebrate the Eucharist. The words and actions of Anglicans in these circumstances are contradictory. Anglicans are thus committed to a belief in the historic episcopate as the " essential ministry ", which many of them repudiate as warmly as do their non-episcopal brethren.

* * * *

The area of controversy is not now the same as that in which Gore and Hatch contended with each other. It is no longer possible to establish the Tractarian doctrine of episcopal succession, derived in unbroken continuity from the Twelve and acting as the divinely ordained channel of sacramental grace, on the basis of the positive results of historical inquiry. The New Testament writers and the Apostolic Fathers afford excellent evidence that in every part of the primitive Church an ordered ministry existed from the beginning and was regarded as a most important expression and focus of the unity of the Christian congregation in its life, worship, and doctrine ; but they show equally clearly that the threefold ministry came into existence at varying times in different local churches, that it was not until much later times that the principle of succession from the apostles came to receive emphasis (Ignatius, who makes such high claims for the bishop as the *persona* of the local community and the embodiment of its unity in Christ, never connects the episcopate with the apostles or regards the bishop's office as a continuation of the apostolate), and that at no time in the early Church was the " tactual " succession of episcopal ordination considered to be of supreme importance as the guarantee of the validity of sacraments. If the controversy is now limited to the field of strict historical inquiry into ministerial origins, the verdict can only be Streeter's, that " all have won and all shall have prizes ". On this basis, all that can be said is that in the early Church, ministerial order (which all Christians agreed to be necessary) took different forms in different circumstances and that the precise nature of these forms was held to be within the competence of the Church to develop and modify—a position not dissimilar from that which was maintained by such Anglican champions as Hooker against the Genevan doctrine that the actual form which ministerial order should take in every age is laid down by the Word of God.

The attempt of *The Apostolic Ministry* to reconstruct the Tractarian doctrine (which agreed with Hooker's Puritan opponents that a particular form of ministry is divinely prescribed for the Church, but differed

in that it held that it is episcopal and not presbyterian) on the basis of the implications of the word *apostolos* in relation to the Hebraic notion of *shaliach* may fairly be said to have collapsed, as such works as A. Ehrhardt's *The Apostolic Succession* have demonstrated. The primary question now does not concern the precise way in which the threefold ministry that became universal about the middle of the second century actually developed; it is rather the problem of what it meant by priesthood and how priesthood is expressed and becomes effective in the continuing life of the Church. Once a greater measure of agreement can be reached on that subject we may have a firmer way of approach to the question of the reality of our existing ministries, of the scanty and obscure records of the early Church's organization, left to us by men who were not chiefly interested in the questions which most concern us today.

All Christian priesthood is derived from the unique priesthood of Christ Himself; or rather, as one ought more properly to express it, all Christian priesthood is to be understood as modes of the operation, within the order of space and time, of the eternal and universal priesthood of Christ. The priesthood of the Church is not a different priesthood from that of Christ, nor is it a secondary priesthood. It is His own priesthood, exercised through the Spirit in the conditions of time and space in the community which is His Body. In the life, ministry (to the world), and worship of the Church the ascended Lord, through the Spirit, renews the effects of His finished work and applies them to successive generations of His people, bringing mankind as a whole within its scope. The Church, as the people of the new Covenant, inherits the vocation of the old Israel to be a "kingdom of priests" but its priesthood is more complete and more profoundly understood, being the priesthood of Christ exercised in the fellowship of His Body. Those who are incorporated into Him, so as to be "in Christ", are necessarily participants, individually and collectively, in His priesthood; for they are the covenant people who were representatively embodied in the solitary figure of the Son of man when He wrought out His saving work in death and resurrection. As His Body, the Church shares in the character of the Servant, and is the organ by which His own *diakonia* to the world at large is continually maintained and enlarged in its scope. As being "in Christ" it enters, through the operation of His Spirit, into His own self-dedication and obedience to the Father, and is brought within the scope of His perfect self-offering.

This is the priesthood of the Body; the "priesthood of all believers", not in a narrowly anti-clerical sense, or in a sense which virtually denies priesthood of any kind, but in the sense in which the whole Church is elected by God to the vocation of active priesthood. It is the priesthood of Christ, for the priesthood of Christ and the priesthood of the Church are one and the same and belong to Christ alone. It is true, of course, that the exercise of the one priesthood differs as between Christ in His earthly ministry and in His heavenly intercession, on the one hand, and Christ acting through the Spirit in the Body of His Church, on the other. Within the Church the priestly operation of Christ is inevitably affected by the fact that in the present order of things the Church is a sinful body. This necessarily differen-

tiates the mode of the operation of Christ's priesthood within the sinful (though justified) Church from its perfect exercise in the heavenly sanctuary and in the sinless body of Christ's earthly life.

With this important qualification, the Church's priesthood is one with the priesthood which Christ Himself exercises. The Church cannot, like Him, be the incarnation of God's Word to man ; in it the Word is not made flesh ; but it is the bearer to the rest of the world of God's Word which is Christ Himself. Its task is to make known God's self-revelation in Christ, and to express to man in general, in every department of His nature and life, the Gospel of the reconciliation of the universe to God in Christ. Through the Church as the priestly Body, God communicates His living and personal Word to men. Its first priestly task is thus the ministry of the word.

As the reconciling Word is spoken and heard, men are brought within the Body which participates by grace in Christ's self-offering of obedience to the Father. Christ exercises His priesthood in the Church by incorporating it into His own sacrifice and enabling it to share in His perfect offering which He made representatively for all men. In so far as it is constituted by Christ to be His Body, the Church is enabled by grace to offer the sacrifice of itself in Christ to God. Its life, ministry, and worship are therefore essentially priestly and sacrificial.

The Church is the sphere in which God's Word encounters man and where man's response to God's Word is given back in the Spirit. There is here the double priestly movement from God to man through the Church as the bearer of God's Word, and from man to God through the Church as the sacrificing Body, offering itself to God in life and worship by virtue of its incorporation into Christ the eternal priest. This double movement finds its most explicit and obvious expression in liturgical worship, and particularly in the Eucharist, where Christ renews the Church as His Body by communicating to it Himself to be its spiritual food, and where, by virtue of its reception of Christ's Body and Blood and the renewal of its incorporation into Him, it is enabled to offer, "in Christ", the sacrifice of itself to the Father. This is the effective sacramental sign of a movement which is by no means confined to its liturgical expression but which pervades, and constitutes the essence of, the whole of, the Church's life and work. The priestly ministry of the Church, exercised in its life as a whole, is the focal point where God meets man and enables man, in his turn, to offer himself to God in the community which is "in Christ".

* * * *

The Church thus exercises representatively a priesthood which properly belongs to all men as creatures of God. It represents the world as a whole, and its ministry is to the whole world, upon which it is its task to bring to bear the reconciliation effected by God in Christ. In the fulfilment of this representative priesthood it shares in Christ's own ministry of intercession. In prayer and action it brings the rest of the world before God. It is also entrusted with the exercise of Christ's ministry of healing and forgiveness. Within the Body of His Church Christ operates the same work of healing which He performed in His

earthly life. In part, this aspect of the whole Church's priesthood is focussed upon its special exercise by Christian doctors and psychiatrists. In a wider sense, however, it is the work of the community itself to minister healing through that deep fellowship which involves a real sharing of burdens, a genuine responsibility of the members of the Body for one another, and a participation in each other's suffering.

Within the Body, too, Christ acts in forgiveness, both as the word of reconciliation to God is proclaimed by the Church, collectively and individually, and as forgiveness is practised by its members towards one another and towards the rest of the world. Over and above the ministry of healing and forgiveness there remains the *diakonia* of Christ the Servant in its wider and more varied aspects. Here the priesthood of the Church is called upon to find expression in the many forms of service which together combine to abolish the distinction between the "secular" and the "sacred", and, in ways which are often very far from being "ecclesiastical", to extend the reconciliation wrought by Christ to the whole world.

The Church is constituted as the priestly Body of Christ through the operation of the Spirit acting by the medium of the Word and the Sacraments by which its life is initiated and sustained. By the Word and the Sacraments the Church is established as the people of the Covenant and the Body of Christ, and is consequently made to participate in His priesthood and to become the organ of that priesthood. Priesthood is conferred upon the Church's members in Baptism, and it is sustained in the Eucharist in which, by virtue of their Communion with their Lord, they exercise their priesthood in the liturgical self-offering of the Body "in Christ". The priesthood of Christ is mediated through the entire Body and not through any one part of it in isolation from the rest. One cannot be a member of Christ and not a participant, through grace, in His priesthood.

So far as the individual members of the Church are concerned, this common priesthood is exercised and expressed in various modes. The numerous *charismata* mentioned in the New Testament are multiplied and become more complex in modern society. They are all alike, however, in being the means by which, according to the abilities and circumstances of each Christian, the work of ministry is carried on and so the priestly task of the Church towards the world in general is discharged. The call to share in the reconciling ministry of Christ is mediated in and through each Christian's "calling". Each man's particular business, family responsibilities, and private and social relationships form the sphere in which he must work out and obey his Christian vocation to be a minister to the world of the reconciliation which was once and for all effected by Christ.

Ministry, then, in the broad sense, is the task of the Church as a whole in pursuance of its vocation to be the priestly people of the new Covenant. It is, as we are reminded in Eph. iv. 16, the "saints" collectively and in general who are called to perform the "work of ministry" by which the world is brought within the sphere of reconciliation. Within this common vocation and within the corporate priesthood of the Body as a whole, there is the special calling of the ordained Ministry.

This is one of the many particular callings through which the priesthood of the whole Church is exercised. Like all the others, it is a mode of the operation of the priesthood of Christ Himself. It priesthood, therefore, is no more a different or a secondary priesthood than is that of the Church collectively. It, too, is identical with the priesthood of Christ; hence it is identical with the Church's priesthood; for they are one and the same thing, and there is no distinction between them. It is, however, a special mode of the operation of Christ's priesthood, different in the manner of its exercise from the various expressions of the same priesthood in what we commonly, but wrongly, call the "secular" callings.

This is not because the priesthood of the ordained minister involves the conferment upon him of special powers or quasi-magical authority. He is not empowered to act as a priestly individual, apart from the priesthood of the whole Church which is representatively exercised by him and, as it were, focussed upon him. He does not preach the Word as an individual apart from the Church—though too few, either among the clergy or the laity, really treat the ministry of the Word as a corporate act in which the whole congregation takes part along with the preacher: the laity more often takes up a purely passive role. Nor does he celebrate the Eucharist as a priestly individual, but as the representative upon whom, in this action, the priesthood of the whole Body is centred—though, all too often, the celebration is treated as though it were a private action of the priest at which the laity "assist" only by their presence: hence we have the obtrusion of the celebrant's private devotions into the corporate liturgy of the Church (whether in the form of the *praeparatio missae*, said by priest and server, or of "secret" material interpolated into the Canon, or of things done and said by the priest while the congregation are engaged in something else, or of other features of the "Anglo-Catholic" Eucharist which go so far to impoverish it as a corporate act of the Church). Nor does he administer Baptism as an individual, but as the representative agent and spokesman of the Church into which a new member is being incorporated. He does not even, ideally, act in his pastoral capacity as an isolated individual; he is not, or ought not to be, merely a shepherd of sheep, but rather a leader of an active congregation of those who together with him and with each other exercise the love and care of Christ for their neighbours. When he declares the forgiveness of sinners, whether in public or private ministry, he does so, not by virtue of a mysterious power of absolution conferred on him as an ordained priest, but as the representative spokesman of the Church to which has been committed the saving Gospel of forgiveness. Absolution is one aspect of the total ministry of the word of reconciliation. It should be observed here that a misunderstanding of John xx. 23 has contributed powerfully to the emergence of a false doctrine of apostolic succession: the apostles were not given a special power of absolution to transmit to successors in their office, but were sent by the risen Christ to continue His own ministry of reconciliation, so that in their public and private proclamation of the Gospel they would bring to bear upon mankind the word of God's mercy and, where that is rejected, of God's judgment. It is, according to the Anglican Ordinal, in being a "faithful dispenser

of the Word of God and of His Holy Sacraments " that the priest exercises the divine authority to forgive and to retain sins.

It is not because he is singled out to be the recipient of special powers transmitted from the ministry of the lay members of the priestly Body. It is a peculiar ministry in that it stands in a special relationship towards the Body as a whole and towards its common priesthood. It is part of that common priesthood, on the one hand : a ministry *within* the Church ; on the other hand, it is also a ministry *towards* the whole Church, the organ by which the ascended Christ, through the Spirit, constitutes and sustains the life and priesthood of the whole Body. It is constitutive of the Church and at the same time it is included within the Church as a special form of the Church's exercise of its collective priesthood.

Just as the apostles were both the founders and the nucleus of the community which was to come into existence, so the regular ministry of the Church is at all times and in all its forms representative. The Ministry does not act as a substitute for the Church as a whole in its priestly work. It cannot function instead of the Church or in independence of the Church. It is representative of the whole Church, and it is the nucleus round which, through its specialized ministry of bringing the Church into being, the wider Body is built up. Just as the Church exists as a representative nucleus which is destined to bring the whole world within its scope, representing mankind in microcosm, yet not a substitute for the rest of the world, but rather its first-fruits, so the Ministry exists, not in an exactly parallel relationship to the Church as a whole, but at least as the core round which the Church is built up and the particular agency by which the impact of the whole Church upon the world is primarily effected. The Ministry is not different in its essential character from the rest of the priestly Body ; hence there is nothing holier or more intrinsically pleasing to God in the life of the ordained minister as compared with that of any other member of the Body. It does not do what the rest of the Church as such cannot do ; it is rather the representative agency by which the Church as a whole does what pertains to its corporate vocation as a priestly community. It is the representative organ of the whole Church's priestly ministry.

Since the Ministry is directed towards the whole Church as well as from within it towards the world, it follows that the ordained ministry is not merely the delegate of the community : that, in the language of the old controversy, it is appointed " from above " by Christ Himself, not " from below " by simple delegation from the congregation. It does not consist of a body of men to whom the rest of the community decides to delegate certain functions. It is appointed by the glorified Christ through the Spirit in His Body, and is given by Him to be the agency ordained by Himself, through which the special and constitutive ministrations of the Word and Sacraments may be carried out representatively on behalf of the Church as a whole. The ministry of the ordained priesthood is not performed in isolation from the rest of the Body. It is a priesthood entrusted with the sole exercise of what belongs to the entire Body of which it forms a part, and which, in the discharge of its functions, it represents. All other ministries in the Body depend upon this, and could not exist without it ; but it is

exercised within a society that is itself priestly in its whole structure.

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If this view of priesthood is correct, the apostolic succession will be seen primarily as the continuing existence, in its priestly character, of the whole Body of the Church. This does, indeed, depend upon the ordained ministry which calls the Church into being, in every age, as the ministry of the Word and the Sacraments. But the Ministry does this as the organ of Christ, through the Spirit, not in an external relationship towards the Church as a whole, but from within it. Though the Church depends upon the Ministry, the continuance of the Ministry itself is dependent upon, and consequent upon, the continuity of the whole Church; and this continuity is maintained by the hearing and receiving of Christ in Word and Sacraments. The Church is not linked historically with an earthly "founder of Christianity" through the succession of ordained ministers. It is linked rather with its glorified Head here and now, in so far as the Head continually creates and renews His Body through the Spirit.

The Church must always have its ministers who declare the Word of the Gospel and administer the Sacraments; but there is no reason to suppose that any one particular form of ministerial order is constitutive of the Church. It is the Word and Sacraments that are constitutive of the Church, and to imagine that there is no Word or Sacrament except where the structure of the ordained ministry is of a certain kind is to exalt ministerial order as a sacrament above the Gospel Sacraments; it is to make the historic episcopate the primary element in the Gospel, without which there can be no contact between man and God through Christ.

Incidentally, it is odd to observe how the theology of the Word has been illegitimately separated from that of the Sacraments in this matter; no one seriously contends that the Word is null and void where it is preached by a non-episcopally ordained person, yet it is maintained that this is the case in respect of the Sacraments (though even here Baptism is excepted).

The function of the ancient form of ministerial order is to express and embody the unity and harmony of the Christian community rather than to constitute it. Anglicans of all schools of thought value the historic threefold ministry, and particularly episcopacy, as a means by which the unity of the Church in our land today with Christians in distant countries may potentially be expressed and demonstrated. It is also to be highly prized as a visible means by which the unity and continuity of the Church today with the Church in past centuries, up to its early years, may be tangibly shown forth. But to subordinate the Word and Sacraments to ministerial order is to put the cart before the horse. Today we are generally asked to treat the historic episcopate as the means by which the divided parts of Christendom are to be brought into unity. The reunited Church is to be constituted by the acceptance of the ancient ministerial order. When that has been done, and only then, we may hope to seal our unity in the Holy Communion.

The truth seems to be the opposite. The Sacrament of Holy Communion, with the proclamation of the Word, is the means of the grace of

unity, as of all other grace. When we have come together in faith and penitence at the Lord's Table we may hope to realize such a unity as can most fittingly and effectively be expressed in the unification of the ministry in terms of the historic episcopate.

In the meantime, a true doctrine of priesthood will enable us to acknowledge that the ministers of non-episcopal bodies are, no less than their episcopally ordained brethren, priests in the priestly Church of God, commissioned by Christ to exercise His own priesthood representatively within the community of the priestly people. We shall recognize that the doctrine of the ministry need not be a barrier to intercommunion; and we shall be increasingly reluctant to be committed, as Anglicans, to a position in which our Church too often seems to the rest of the world to be concerned with a gospel which is no gospel, a gospel of the grace of God in bishops.

The Church of England and Apostolic Succession

BY COLIN BUCHANAN

IN his posthumously published work, Archbishop Benson wrote of the sacerdotal doctrine of episcopacy which Cyprian developed: "Was it then but an unconscious straining first of language, then of feeling, lastly of thought, which gradually warped with a hieratic distinction an office originally politic . . . or, was the belief a legitimate development of principles of the apostolic church . . . ? The alternative is an important one."¹ The alternative may be a simplification, and the choices more than two—but these two sketch the limit. Did the apostolic church contain within it the principles of episcopacy which have formed the platform of so many post-Tractarian Anglicans? The question is not a simple one and much clearing of the ground must precede the actual discussion of principles.

We must ask ourselves first, whether what *The Apostolic Ministry* calls the "Essential (as opposed to the 'Dependent') Ministry"² can be historically traced to the apostles. The book says it can, but Bishop Stephen Neill's comment is interesting: "Throughout, the reader has the disturbing feeling that the conclusions were reached before the evidence was considered, that a certain structure of thought has been imposed upon the facts . . ."³ Awful gaps and changes occur in our first century evidence. We may well allow, however, that a ministry has existed since the apostles' time—that there were those "*quibus Apostoli tradiderunt ecclesiam*".⁴ But does a fact imply a dominical or apostolic commandment? Bishop Headlam said that this apostolica

succession is a "fact not a doctrine".⁵ Bishop Lightfoot conceded the fact: "it seems vain to deny . . . that the position of St. James in the mother Church furnished the precedent and pattern of the later episcopate."⁶ But there are signs of a change before a threefold order of ministry and moniscopacy was established. Was then a mutable form of ministry of commandment in its later form? Now it is interesting to note that Bilson, Hooker, Andrews, Bramhall, Jeremy Taylor, and other post-Reformation Anglican divines say that it was. On the one hand, they have a defective historical sense, but on the other, quite properly, as Protestants, they ground their arguments on Scripture. Some of the arguments have achieved a form of succession of their own—notably the argument from the polity of ancient Israel, and that from the twelve and the seventy. This latter specimen of wrested Scripture occurs in Jeremy Taylor, in Keble's Tract 12, and in Austin Farrer's chapter in *The Apostolic Ministry*. Is this really the respective institution of Essential and Dependent Ministries?

Thus far we have only a matter of scriptural exegesis to dispute—though exegesis coloured by tinted spectacles. But even here we find concessions, such as Hooker's, that episcopacy is "that which best agreeth with the sacred Scripture".⁷ The better the exegesis the less sure did it seem; Bilson's argument strays furthest from Scripture, Jewel's and Whitgift's adhere most closely to it. But today we face a different argument. "The universal consent of antiquity" is the basis (the Scripture having honestly proved unhelpful). Newman writes of his Tractarian days: "As to the Episcopal system, I founded it upon the epistles of St. Ignatius, which inculcated it in various ways."⁸ Here is an abandonment of the Reformed position—he might just as well have founded a Presbyterian system on the epistle of Clement.

If anything is of the *esse* of the Church—a truly legitimate development of apostolic principles—then a Protestant will wish to find warrant for it in the Scripture. *Ubi episcopus ibi ecclesia catholica* is a stupendous claim: it virtually requires adherence to a bishop (not just in name, but in succession and Essential Ministry) for salvation. But the Articles and Ordinal forbid the Anglican minister to teach any such doctrine unless it be found in Scripture—which, it is tacitly admitted today, it is not. The phrase "uncovenanted mercies" is sometimes used to describe the gracious dealings of God with nonconformists. It is questionable whether this is not a contradiction in terms in speaking of the love of a covenant-making God. It is certain that Scripture knows nothing of a covenant with a visible Church, such that its *esse* is guaranteed by an Essential Ministry. "All that the Father giveth me shall come unto me, and him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out"—these are the terms of God's covenant with man. "The Lord added to the church . . .," and not *vice versa*.

This may decide the position of the ministry with relation to the Church. "Which is prior, the Church or the ministry?" sounds like a "hen or egg" question. But certainly the Church does not depend on the ministry as a picture does upon a cord. Equally certainly the picture will look wrong if there is no ministry in it. The Church depends immediately upon the Word of God, and mediately upon the ministers of the Word. Ordination is a function of the Church, through

"men who have public authority given unto them in the Congregation" (Article XXIII). Thus, in Headlam's words, "ordination depends upon the authority of the Church, and not the Church on ordination."⁹ Similarly, Till summarizes Hooker's doctrine: "His doctrine of episcopacy . . . is high, but his doctrine of the Church . . . is higher."¹⁰ Did the Church in Jerusalem call St. James to the episcopal position he occupied? The onus of proof is on those who would say not. Even missionaries have to learn that as a local church comes into being their position has to be regularized and sanctioned by that body. The sense in which the ministry is given to the Church by the ascended Christ is in the call of each individual. The Scriptures would lead us to expect that this call will be, if not mediated through the Church, certainly ratified by it. Cyprian traced a bishop's position to the judgment of God, the approval of the clergy, and the consent of the laity.¹¹ Where a man lacks these let him doubt his call.

A modern Anglo-Catholic doctrine leads surprisingly to the same conclusion. The newest doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass avoids many of the older blasphemies, by attributing to the priest, not a share in the priesthood of Christ, but the delegated priesthood of the Church. That the characteristic priesthood of all believers is by definition untransferable is irrelevant—the doctrine accords a significant logical and juridical priority to the Church above the ministry.

There remains one question to be asked. An evangelical redefinition of the "apostolical succession" would be etymologically profitable, but controversially stultifying. The terms of the controversy are clear. We have examined the question whether there is an Essential Ministry, and adumbrated the answer. Questions of validity and invalidity, tactual succession, indelibility of orders and the "character" and "grace" of ordination usually start at this point. But a big link in the chain of argument is missing and until that is supplied there is no good guide to answer these other questions. The rest of the essay is devoted to an examination of the features of that link. If, as I suspect, it proves the weakest link, then there may be nothing left on which the usual questions of validity can turn.

The question is obviously: what is episcopacy for? Neglect of this question leaves broken chains in most arguments. Newman saw it, and wrote in Tract 7: "Can we conceive that this Succession has been preserved all over the world, amid many revolutions, through many centuries, *for nothing*?" It might be just a contingent fact, but he ignores that. Episcopacy was not in fact valued for its own sake by the early Church, but because it served certain ends. It is my contention that today episcopacy does not guarantee those ends in the Church of England. I have restricted the enquiry to that communion, where the current tensions are so crucial. One can approve the office of a bishop without subscribing to an exclusive doctrine of episcopacy. Similarly, where the "apostolical succession" is a fact not a doctrine, it can be valued as an adornment to the Church of England. It is like a pre-Reformation parish church. Its shape had doctrinal significance before the sixteenth century. The shape, and the beauty of the building have been retained and adorn our Christian heritage, but its doctrinal *raison d'être* has been abandoned. What follows is an

examination of one of the ends variously advanced through Christian history which only episcopacy could secure. Some of the ends the Church of England does not seek, the rest can be secured without episcopacy, and the way will thus be cleared for a more promising approach to scriptural nonconformist Christians than has ever recently proved possible.

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Unity is a note of the Church of Christ, and the visible unity of the Church must be constantly sought. Cyprian's controversy with the Novatianists (and Augustine's with the Donatists) sprang from a hatred of schism. But catholicity was not always easy to prove—and was usually only done by the pressure of numbers or the ravages of time. Novatianism was really doomed when first Alexandria, then Antioch adhered to Cyprian. But the claim to be catholic was exclusive—the catholic Church was one just because it was co-extensive with its own communicants. In Cyprian's time the unity of the Church was guaranteed by adherence to the bishop. Every Christian could trace his communion to a catholic bishop. Thus, Cyprian's insistence on the episcopal office is comprehensible. A move against him in his own see is schism, and the consecration of Novatian as bishop of Rome is worse schism. He writes that it is "against God's ordinance . . . to have consented to the creation of another bishop, that is, to a thing divinely and humanly impossible, the founding of a second church".¹²

But that which is divinely impossible has proved possible with men. The "churches" of Christendom number now, not two, but hundreds. The power of number or emperors, which preserved the unity of the Church through the various schisms of the early centuries, has since proved more fruitful than curative of fragmentation. Uniformity was not found in the early centuries. Liturgies varied from place to place—not even Quarto-Decimanism was allowed to break communion when Polycarp visited Rome. But as East split from West, unity in the West became increasingly a question of adherence to the see of Rome. This did not produce unity automatically, as antipopes occur. But in principle, the test of adherence to a universal bishop is the easiest test to apply. Anything else is schism or worse. The unity of the church of Rome, as the Gallican controversy witnesses, springs entirely from the centre.

But no Anglican can take that ground. And hence we come to a very subtle Tractarian argument. Each see, is the claim, is an individual church, with the bishop in his see in that very position of pope, as the centre of unity. This looks plausible from the situation before Nicea. Intercommunion with other sees is a sort of optional extra, the argument continues, though this looks less plausible. Thus, instead of bewailing that the one great catholic Church has split into three parts (Eastern, Western, and British), not in communion with each other, we can instead rejoice that so many of the autonomous sees of catholic Christendom are in fact in communion with each other. If we start at the bottom the situation looks rosier—and particularly it is wonderful to have a united British church. The see, however, is the sacrosanct unit. Hence the original outcry at the suppression of the Irish bishoprics in 1833. Hence, too, Newman's statement: "I considered

[In 1839 to 1841] that each see and Diocese might be compared to a crystal, and that each was similar to the rest, and that the sum total of them all was only a collection of crystals."¹³ He also says that he never cared for the Bench of Bishops, Provincial Councils, or Diocesan Synods. But "what to me was *jure divino* was the voice of my Bishop in his own person. My own Bishop was my Pope; I knew no other . . . "¹⁴

Keble, in his introduction to Hooker's *Works*, writes of what "the papacy . . . had done . . . to weaken all notions of independent authority in bishops."¹⁵ The most extraordinary fruit of this doctrine was borne in the actions of two Anglo-Catholic bishops. After the Gorham Judgment in 1851, Bishop Philpotts of Exeter excommunicated Archbishop Sumner of Canterbury. Even more bizarre was the proceeding following the raising of B. H. Streeter to a prebendal stall in Hereford (in 1912). Thereupon, Zanzibar Cathedral carried a notice of excommunication of John, Bishop of Hereford, and all who adhered to him. Communion between the sees has, I understand, since been restored. Further lip-service to this theory was paid by the infamous F. G. Lee of Lambeth, who is reputed to have been consecrated on the high seas lest he act in schism. His subsequent invasion of the catholic sees of Britain was presumably only venial. The clearest statement of the implications of this doctrine are in Palmer's *Treatise on the Church of Christ*. Anglicans in South America would be schismatics, but so are papists in North America, and "the Romish or Popish party in England and Ireland who fell [*sic*!] from the Catholic Church in the reign of Queen Elizabeth."¹⁶ Anglicans have indeed been lamentably slow to evangelize in South America—but it is difficult to call the 97% of Romanists in Eire schismatics from the catholic body.

This is the only formulation of the doctrine which can make adherence to a bishop the acid test of unity. But this refuses to face certain facts. Firstly, by Cyprian's time the succession of bishops was visualized as a network, not merely (as it was to Irenaeus) a succession in a single see. The attempt to trace a succession in a single see back to St. Augustine or St. Patrick is not, therefore, a guarantee of catholicity. By this standard neither Anglican nor Roman Catholic Bishop of Southwark has any title to the adjective "catholic". Yet both claim it. Woollcombe writes that the Fathers "clung to the rule that there must never be two bishops in one place. The bishop represented the unity of the Church."¹⁷ We now have more than one bishop in one place, and we have to decide which network is catholic. Cyprian's problem was ours. The obvious answer is that Roman Catholicism has lost the proper marks of the visible Church, but this no Tractarian theoretician would allow.

Secondly, the "crystal" view of the diocesan church itself neglects a *sine qua non* of Tractarian theory—the tactual succession. Cyprian was consecrated by his comprovincials, but who is to consecrate a successor to a bishop who dies out of communion with all the other catholic bishops? Practically, united action by a college of diocesan bishops is required to ensure the succession—unless, which Ignatius and Jerome might have allowed, the manner of consecration is indifferent. But no Anglo-Catholic allows this.

Thirdly, we have to face occasional schisms within the English episcopal church. The most famous of these is the nonjuring one. The nonjurors claimed to be "the Catholic Remnant of the British Churches",¹⁸ and that, in the time of emergency, "the whole world is but one diocese".¹⁹ (At the same date as this phrase was written, another English clergyman was deciding that the whole world was but one parish!) How could a layman decide? Only by predilection or politics—both anathema to the Tractarian. Could the nonjurors thus abolish the sees, or are the sees in fact above the bishops?

We don't know. But history does show us the view the pre-Tractarian bishops took of the Protestant and Roman churches on the Continent. Neither Whitgift, Cosin, Sancroft, nor Wake would have written, as Newman did: "Lutheranism and Calvinism are heresies, repugnant to Scripture . . ."²⁰ Nonconformity at home, to Whitgift and others, was schism. But whereas to leave the Church of England was schism for an Englishman, to leave the Roman church was almost a duty for a Frenchman.

Here is the heart of the matter. Catholicity springs not from above, from a universal bishop or a diocesan bishop. It is the privilege of every man regenerated in Christ. "The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance" (Article XIX). Where there is no faith, there is no church. No congregation, no church. No Word of God, no church. No sacraments, no church. The unit of the visible Church is not the diocese but the congregation, the test of it not the bishop but the faith, doctrine, and practice of the local congregation.

We cannot leave the problem here—for the tragedy of Christendom today is that two or more congregations meet in the same area, and often excommunicate each other. England is not in the same position as South India, where spheres of influence had always been observed by Protestant missionary societies. In England we have Christians living next door to each other and out of communion with each other. Sometimes one or more congregations lack the "notes" of the visible church. Separation for the layman may then be almost inevitable. The Methodists as a body found it so even before John Wesley died. History is not all on our side, however. Most of the secessions from the Church of England are traceable not to our formularies, but to pig-headed bishops. We do well to note the words of Pilkington: "Succession of good bishops is a great blessing of God; but because God and his truth hangs not on man nor place, we rather hang on the undeceivable truth of God's Word in all doubts, than on any bishops, place, or man."²¹ When preaching the pure Word of God has been lost in the Church of England so have many of her godliest members. Let us first restore to the pulpit and the homes the place the Bible already has in our Articles and Prayer Book. Then, and then alone, we may suggest to other Christians, not that we have excommunicated them, but that those causes for which they separated have become outdated by events.

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Before Cyprian's time the succession to the apostles was a favourite

theme of Irenaeus. Against heretical sects he even appeals to it as a note of the true Church. He lists the bishops of Rome since the apostles, traces his own teaching through Polycarp to John, and points out that there were no Valentinians before Valentinus, nor Marcionites before Marcion. We can see that here, too, we have no insistence on an apostolic succession for its own sake, but only for a certain end. If we examine that end we shall see that the "succession" will not guarantee it today.

Irenaeus was writing against heretics, particularly gnostic ones. Against their claim to a secret gnosis he opposes an open and unchanging church tradition—an apostolic tradition. He claims that that which is taught by the Church is that which the Apostles taught. The proof is easy: consult the Apostles' writings. Church and Scripture say the same thing—they are a check, one against the other. In effect the heretical gnosis can only be maintained by denying *both*. We should note also that he is even prepared to write of "*successiones presbyterorum*"²² as an alternative to "*episcoporum*". No Anglo-Catholic dare write of such a succession today.

Irenaeus thus asserts that the visible Church, with its continuous unchanging tradition since the Apostles' time, has the truth. Nor was he the only champion of this view. Kelly writes: "The immense stress which Ignatius placed on loyalty to the episcopate is best explained by the assumption that he regarded the bishop as the appointed guarantor of the purity of doctrine."²³ Similarly, Tertullian appeals to the unity of the common teaching of the visible Church to prove its truth.

But this ground is also denied us. We cannot point to a single unbroken continuity of church teaching. The Reformers specifically rejected the teachings of their immediate predecessors. Even if many Anglicans today prefer medieval doctrines they still cannot maintain an unbroken succession of those doctrines. No longer can a history of church teaching stand comparison with the Scriptures, as Irenaeus was claiming. The Reformation sprang from a tension between the two. From that time on, one or other had to prevail and correct the other. We cannot treat them as co-ordinate because they patently are not.

The Anglical position is the Reformed one—that the Scriptures are perspicuous and contain "all things necessary to salvation". Irenaeus would undoubtedly have said the same. We have to remember the comparative rarity of the Apostles' writings in his day. The New Testament would not be found in every home. Catechetical instruction, actual preaching, and informal conversation would be the Christian's normal method of receiving the apostolic *depositum fidei*. The gnostics would use the same methods, and also claim apostolic origin. The answer was thus twofold—"the Church's teaching has always been open, and the Church's teaching is the Apostles' teaching". We have seen that our communion today cannot claim an open tradition of unchanging doctrine back to the Apostles. Attempts to make the claim (such as the renowned "*catenae*" of the *Tracts*) are almost laughable. But we can claim to teach what the Apostles taught, and in the last analysis this is the best claim.

The Apostles' Teachings, however, are the New Testament writings.

The post-apostolic writers would never have used the *petitio principii* : "because we teach this doctrine today it must be apostolic." That was exactly the claim of Valentinus. Only the actual history of doctrine, or the Scriptures, would confute gnosticism. A simple assertion that the Church teaching was apostolic would not. Of the two good proofs history has now, no show of unanimity—but apostolicity is still demonstrable from Scripture, and from that alone.

Indeed, divergences between church teaching and Scripture, because they produced controversy, helped to hammer out the truth of Scripture. It is notorious that the early apologists lacked a rigorous Christology. But when the teachings of Arianism, Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, and Monophysitism were successively found in the Church, then the limits of scriptural orthodoxy had to be meticulously drawn. The conciliar definitions were not summaries of tradition, but (like the creeds which contain them) were "proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture". Similarly, church tradition on the holy communion was notably vague until controversy occurred in the time of Ratram and Paschasius. The difference here was that the unscriptural party prevailed, so that the controversy, despite the late decree of transubstantiation, was not ended, but buried only to spring to new life at the Reformation. That period also witnessed soteriological controversy and thus begot the scriptural definitions which we inherit today. Today the doctrine of revelation is similarly at stake, and the Scriptures are being examined that the doctrine may be accurately formulated. This is the result of a divergence of teaching *within* the Church, such as the previous eighteen centuries never knew.

Doctrine must always be scriptural; on that, the early fathers (including the unjustly famous Vincent of Lerins) and the churches of the Reformation are agreed. The meaning of Scripture to Irenaeus was witnessed by the unanimity of the Church (exemplified by the succession of bishops), whereas to us, it springs rather from the controversies of the Church (in which the bishops might be on either or both sides). The open succession of witnesses has gradually been replaced by an equally open succession of confessional truth. Some hints of this are in the New Testament, but the classic cases from the early centuries are the Trinitarian and Christological definitions of the first four councils. The Reformation was rich in confessions, and attempts were made by Edward VI and Cramner to have an evangelical ecumenical council to agree on one confession. In the event each "particular or national church" had its own—ours, of course, being the Thirty-Nine Articles. They are not sacrosanct, and if later controversy shows them to be deficient, then changes must be made. We cannot, however, jettison the lessons of the sixteenth century any more lightly than we can those of the fourth and fifth. The Articles are our greatest claim to apostolicity.

* * * *

The purpose of Roman ordination is succinctly stated by Aquinas : "The sacrament of Order is directed to the sacrament of the Eucharist."²⁴ Traditionally, arguments about validity tend to trace back to this purpose. It has been admitted since Augustine's day that anyone

(even heretics and schismatics) can confer valid baptism. But who can celebrate a "valid" eucharist? The Council of Trent states: "The Scriptures show, and the tradition of the Catholic Church has always taught, that this priesthood was instituted by the same Lord our Saviour, and that to the Apostles, and their successors in the priesthood, was the power delivered of consecrating, offering, and administering His Body and Blood, as also of forgiving and of retaining sins."²⁵ We are clearly committed to an examination of the Anglican doctrine of the eucharist (and other ordinances) to see whether this doctrine is ours.

Now clearly in both Roman and Anglican communions celebration of the eucharist is confined to priests and bishops. But in England all doctrine of "offering" the elements has been repudiated. The question of who should administer is trivial. So we return to ask whether consecration is restricted *de fide* to episcopally ordained priests or bishops. If we can show that no change occurs in the elements at consecration, and that this is performed with a view only to administration, we shall also avoid a long digression refuting the complex doctrines of "offering" which abound.

In Rome the emphasis on the eucharist is so great that the only real "order" in the Church is the priesthood. The other orders all subserve the priesthood—the episcopate is not an order and consecration confers no "character". Now this is clearly not true in England. The "Preface" to the Ordinal clearly calls the episcopate an order, and knows nothing of the five Roman orders below deacon. More important still, the order of priesthood in England is not "directed to the sacrament of the eucharist". The ministry is of word and sacrament, with the emphasis rather on the former, as the delivery of the Bible indicates. The administration of the holy communion is by no means the most important of a minister's responsibilities.

We must go further than this. The Scriptures nowhere connect holy communion with the ministry. There is no dominical restriction, and the part of the minister is a most notable omission in Paul's first letter to Corinth, as also in the twentieth chapter of the Acts. Hooker supplies a commentary on this omission: "I see not which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ—when and where the bread is His body, or the wine His blood, but only in the very heart and soul of him which receiveth them."²⁶ Christ's words and Paul's letter were addressed to Christians as recipients, not celebrants. Thus "validity" (like grace) must be tested *a posteriori* and not, as in Rome, *a priori*. The only case where celebration is impossible is where there are no communicants—and the rubrics of our Prayer Book are designed to prevent non-communicating attendance, and "private masses". The limitation of the administration to the ordained presbyter is a matter of order. The Lord's institution is not flouted if a layman officiates—but opportunity occurs to fence in the Lord's table by private predilections, and promote schism. The history of the Brethren movement is a sober warning to us, if we take seriously the unity of the visible Church round the Lord's table. Ignatius' insistence to "do nothing without the bishop"²⁷ similarly provides against, not invalidity, but schism. Bishop Cosin, of course, communicated with non-episcopal Christians of

France when in exile, when presumably he could have celebrated communion by himself, or for his own household. Did he, who showed such inflexibility to "schismatics" in England, fear in France to be found in schism himself? Certainly it is an attitude to be commended to all Anglicans on the Continent today.

We might go even further than this. The presentation of de Laune to a living in Norfolk in 1629 without re-ordination reflects the pre-Commonwealth outlook. There is abundant further testimony, not only of their English doctrine of the eucharist (which could lay no stress on consecration), but also on the view of non-episcopal celebrations. Jewel writes against Harding, "If you had ever known the order of the church of Geneva, and had seen four thousand people or more receiving the holy mysteries together at one communion, ye could not . . . thus untruly have published to the world that by M. Calvin's doctrine the sacraments of Christ are superfluous".²⁸ Jewel had no need to defend Calvin, but he does so in detail. To have jettisoned him or bracketed him with Anabaptists, would have been easier, and more in line with Tractarian teaching. There was no re-ordination when Bancroft re-established episcopacy in Scotland in 1610. Episcopacy was a form of government, not an indefeasible means of grace. If the conditions of the "Preface" to the Ordinal were tightened in 1662 the reason is not far to seek. The returning Royalists were only too eager to twist the Puritans' tails. To demand submission and re-ordination by the bishop would be more than they would stand. And so it proved. Sheldon's fear that they would conform was not realized, for the provision for re-ordination was a very potent dissuasive.

We thus hold no doctrine that the eucharist can only be consecrated by an episcopally ordained minister. The opposite opinion was never held till the nineteenth century, except by what Archbishop Wake called "*quidam furiosi*".²⁹ Today a more scriptural view is prevailing. The "Memorandum on behalf of the Church of England Representatives on the Joint Conference at Lambeth Palace, July 6th, 1923," stated: "Ministries which imply a sincere intention to . . . administer the sacraments as Christ has ordained, and to which authority so to do has been solemnly given by the Church concerned, are real ministries of Christ's . . . Sacraments in the Universal Church."³⁰ If the high-water mark of Anglo-Catholicism was reached at the 1920 Lambeth Conference, even there, in the plea for a universal episcopate, no greater claim was made for the Anglican eucharist than that worship could thus be offered "without any doubtfulness of mind".³¹ That high-water is now past. The mark it made lingers a little. But the recognition of non-episcopalian ministries (with their sacraments) has been hastened by events in South India, and seems to be explicit in the recently republished *Historic Episcopate in the Fulness of the Church*.

* * * *

The Elizabethans were faced with a cry that Presbyterianism is God's chosen method of church government. The text book, as ever, was the *Institutes* and the clamour was unceasing. Whitgift, Bilson, and Hooker were all concerned in the reply. Bilson alone in this reign

asserted the absolute necessity of episcopacy, and restricted the power of ordination to bishops. Yet even he, as Dimock points out,³² cites the practice of the Alexandrian church, in which the presbyters consecrated the bishop. Whitgift and Hooker took what Keble calls the "lower ground",³³ that forms of government were not decided in Scripture. Whitgift writes: "That may be profitable for the churches of Geneva and France, etc., which would be most hurtful to this Church of England".³⁴ Similarly, Hooker says: "Men oftentimes without any fault of their own may be driven to want that kind of polity or regiment which is best".³⁵ This was the general Anglican view and countless testimonies to it could be summoned. The Thirty-Nine Articles know nothing of a doctrine of episcopacy at all (Article XXIII is studiously vague). It is therefore rather ironical to read in the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* that a differentiating feature of the Irish is that they "make no mention of the threefold ministry nor of the necessity of Episcopal Ordination".³⁶ Perhaps the contributor had only read the English Articles through Sancta Clara's eyes.

Some of the English Reformers' reasons for advocating episcopacy have been stated. They were fearful of schism, and of heresy; and in the days of a national church episcopacy was a proof against these, which today, as we have seen, it is not. However, three other factors strengthened their inclination and these we must consider.

Firstly, the whole Anglican principle of reformation was conservative. Nothing was jettisoned unless contrary to the Word of God. The aberrations of Rome were rooted out, and the services were re-drawn retaining what was compatible with Scripture even where a resemblance to Roman forms was also thereby preserved. The value of this conservative reformation was threefold. Firstly, the alternatives are very difficult to follow. One alternative is to construct everything anew just from the Bible. But this is psychologically impossible—a man's past experience sways him to one side or the other. Alternatively, this fact can be admitted, and the new principle followed of being as unlike Rome as possible. But this is just foolish. Hooker shows that Rome retains much that is valuable, that where the Greek and Roman churches disagree (as on the use of wafers) one of them inevitably must be followed, and that unless a use be incompatible with Scripture the very fact that it exists in the Church lends a presumption of utility of it. He also employs the old trick—citing the Genevan use of wafers to embarrass his opponent.³⁷ The second benefit of conservative reformation is that it etches more strongly the value of the changes actually made. The worshipper (or the candidate for ordination) would recognize the significance of every actual change. Radical reformation suggests either that all matters are optional, or that every detail of unreformed use was objectional—a dichotomy much to be eschewed. And, thirdly, conservative reformation conciliates the conservative temper of most churchmen. Hence the retention of the minister's surplice and the ring in marriage. And hence, too, the retention of episcopacy. As methods of church government were held to be in themselves indifferent, this method of reformation meant that episcopacy was the best for England. To impugn it was to assert that it was contrary to the Word of God. And in Elizabeth's reign this would

have also meant blackening the fair names of Latimer, Hooper, Ridley, and Cranmer.

Secondly, the Reformers had a great admiration of the early Church. This in turn gave them a consciousness of episcopacy as the norm of government. They still acknowledged it was not of commandment. Jewel indeed cites Chrysostom and Jerome to show that bishops and presbyters are the same.³⁸ But a sense of the fittingness of it was inevitable to any soaked in the Fathers. Hence, they would sometimes refer to a "defect and imperfection"³⁹ elsewhere. This in turn has recurred today, and seems to be the general ground of the Lambeth Conferences, the "Memorandum" cited above, and the contributors to *The Historic Episcopate in the Fulness of the Church*. This view of the "*plene esse*" remains to be considered in the next section—for the moment it is fair to say that if the Elizabethans were influenced by this then they may have been guilty of an unconscious duplication. To insist on episcopacy as a remedy against heresy and schism is allowable—to insist on it because the early Church did so is also possible. But the arguments are not cumulative, but merely restatements and should be recognized as such.

The third factor was probably decisive. All the Protestant churchmen of the sixteenth century were strong Royalists. The reasons are not far to seek—the break with Rome, the theological Reformation, and the Elizabethan settlement all sprang from monarch and council. Cranmer, Parker, and Whitgift would all today be called Erastian. Church affairs, whether the revision of the Prayer Book in 1552, or the coercion of Puritans in Elizabeth's reign, were all decided by imposed force. There was a natural feeling that a political monarchy ought to have a parallel ecclesiastical polity under the same head. Popular church government might be acceptable in a democracy like Geneva, but not in England. Evidence of this feeling is abundant. Parker wrote to Cecil in 1559: "God keep us from such visitation as Knox have attempted in Scotland; the people to be orderers of things".⁴⁰ To Burghley in 1573 he wrote about the Puritans: "Neither do they only cut down the ecclesiastical state, but also give a great push at the civil policy".⁴¹ The only episcopal reaction against this view came from Grindal, and he was promptly inhibited by Elizabeth. James I, coming himself from Presbyterian Scotland, gave the pithiest summary of the doctrine thus: "No bishop, no king".⁴²

But this ground is completely untenable today. The Anglo-Catholic is the first to complain at the connection between church and state. The monarch's throne is not dependent on episcopal control of the country. The "apostolical succession" is found in many countries where the state assumes no ecclesiastical powers. The state appointment of bishops seems anachronistic. The method of government is by all parties admitted to be indifferent within certain limits. Bishop Kirk wrote: "If we agree about orders, we can compromise to an unlimited extent upon organization".⁴³ We may have bishops-in-presbytery, rural deans in episcopal orders, moderators of the Church of South India, establishment, disestablishment, a House of Laity, or anything else that seems useful, if we retain the orders of the "Essential Ministry". But Elizabeth and Parker would have been horrified.

Their emphasis upon episcopacy for England sprang from a refusal to compromise upon organization. As ever, episcopacy served an end. If it does not serve that end now, then their retention of episcopacy loses all controversial significance.

* * * *

Is there a gap between the alternative views of episcopacy as of the *esse* and of the *bene esse* of the Church? The recent authorities mentioned in the last section seem to say there is. They contend that we are in fact asking the wrong question, and hence getting the wrong answer. The right answer to the right question is, apparently, that it is of the fulness or *pleroma* of the Church, and that other ministries are not valid or invalid (which are outdated terms) but defective. And this view not only hits a charitable mean within the Anglican Communion today, but also has a show of historical plausibility behind it as well.

We have seen the various reasons which caused the Elizabethan and Stuart divines to insist on episcopacy without unchurching non-episcopal congregations. We have also seen that episcopacy today does not serve the ends which have in the past lent importance to it. We thus have a difficult concept to grasp. The filling of the Church with the gifts of ministry is found in Scripture in Ephesians iv. A church without ministry is a defective church. But nowhere is a form of ministry connected in Scripture with the fulness of the Church. We should therefore give the straight lie to this doctrine. It comes to us as dogma, in which respect it resembles the claim for the "Essential Ministry". The recognition of a certain form of ministry as being of the *bene esse* of the Church, on the other hand, is purely pragmatic and undogmatic. Bishops have unrivalled opportunity for setting standards of doctrine and conduct for the Church. Their job is ideally pastoral and disciplinary. Their functions are of the *bene esse* of the Church. This may be claimed even when the individuals fail to fulfil their functions, for the functions themselves can be tested, as they ought to be, *a posteriori* from good examples. But the dogmatic claim admits of no test, except from doctrinal authorities. And the only admissible authority, the Scriptures, gives no sanction to the *pleroma* claim. It is a claim that would have been incomprehensible to the early centuries. To be without a bishop was to be in schism, and thus outside the Church. In this sense episcopacy was of the *esse*, because of the end it fulfilled. But as no decision on non-episcopal orders of the sort that is required today was ever necessary, the controversial implications of that doctrine cannot be tested.

Further notes for alarm occur. We may, for our part, acknowledge the defectiveness of our church in many respects, for example, in the place accorded to the laity. Methodist hymn-singing perhaps may be of the fulness, and will gain its rightful place in the united Church to come. But the advocates of the *pleroma* claim have a further nasty shock up their sleeves. Webster says that "Catholics" (including himself) would list as other features of the fulness of the Church, "the acceptance of the lesser sacraments such as Confirmation and Penance; the practice of mental and affective prayer; a loving awareness of, and respect shown, to the Saints, and specially to the Mother of Jesus;

religious communities ; . . . ”⁴⁴ Why not add the infallibility of the Pope ? The authority for such a claim would be just as good. Kirk, Thornton, and Dix themselves could hardly have offered a more unacceptable pattern of reunion to nonconformists.

We are on perhaps slightly better ground if the doctrine be merely that denominational ministries “ have not on them the stamp of approval of the whole church ” (Bicknell).⁴⁵ But if this is so, we must say the same of our own. And this has led to the farcical North India proposals of a mutual imposition of hands by all ministers to start a new church with a new ministry, having the sanction of all. But the Anglican claim (never made good *vis-à-vis* Rome) is to ordain to “ the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of God ”. No school of Anglican thought has ever really admitted that our orders are defective, and to that extent the North India scheme seems hypocritical. Far better is the South India one where no defectiveness anywhere has been admitted. If sanction of contracting parties is always to be stamped by the imposition of hands are we to see a new merry-go-round in North India every time another non-episcopal body joins the scheme ? Ordination ought to be for life.

One suspects, however, that the doctrine of the fulness stems from tinted spectacles also. Episcopacy will give the “ right look ” to a united Church, even if it serves no ends. Unity is also of the fulness of the Church, but if it could be obtained without episcopacy, the Church would presumably still be defective. It wouldn’t look right. This claim is difficult to combat. A sense of the fitness of an institution which is confessedly without command, and in certain circumstances without purpose, is a conservatism akin to Colonel Blimp’s.

The truth is that the age has overtaken the Church of England and found her unprepared. The Tractarian solution is simple to understand. L. R. Kingsbury, who was previously a nonconformist minister, writes : “ Either there is a true Church, One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic—or there is not . . . If . . . there is or has been such a Church, the problem is that of schism ”.⁴⁶ This begs dozens of questions, but it is straightforward dogmatism. The solution of Carey’s book is a cross between this unfounded dogmatism and an uncritical charity. I find the result obscure, undoctinal, and impractical. This is not to deny the usefulness of the Lambeth Quadrilateral, for that reference to the episcopate is purely pragmatic, and not dogmatic.

NOTES

¹ Benson, *Cyprian : His Life, His Times, His Work*, p. 40.

² Kirk and others, *The Apostolic Ministry*, p. 8.

³ Neill and others, *The Ministry of the Church*, p. 8.

⁴ Irenaeus, *Adversus Omnes Haereses*, V. xx. 1.

⁵ Prayer Book Dictionary. Article by Headlam, “ Orders.”

⁶ Lightfoot, *The Epistle to the Philippians*, p. 206.

⁷ Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, III. xi.

⁸ Newman, *History of my religious opinions*, p. 50.

⁹ Headlam. *Op. cit.*

¹⁰ Carey and others, *The Historic Episcopate in the Fulness of the Church*, p. 30.

¹¹ Cyprian Epistles, LXVI.

¹² Cyprian Epistles, XLIII.

- ¹³ Newman. *Op. cit.*, p. 107.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- ¹⁵ Keble, "Preface" to Hooker's works, p. LX.
- ¹⁶ Palmer, *Treatise on the Church of Christ*, Vol. 1, p. 305, quoted in Brilioth, *Anglican Revival*, p. 200.
- ¹⁷ Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- ¹⁸ Collier, quoted in Bell, *Christian Unity*, p. 85.
- ¹⁹ Deacon, *Catechisms*.
- ²⁰ Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
- ²¹ Pilkington, "Works" Parker Society, p. 599.
- ²² Irenæus, *op. cit.*, III. ii. 2.
- ²³ Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrine*, p. 35.
- ²⁴ Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Vol. III supplement, 37. 2.
- ²⁵ Council of Trent. Session XXIII, Cap. I
- ²⁶ Hooker, *op. cit.*, V. lxvii.
- ²⁷ Ignatius, *Philippians*, 7 et *passim*.
- ²⁸ Jewel, *Defence of Apology*, vii. 2. Parker Society, III, p. 370.
- ²⁹ Wake to the pastors of Geneva 1719—quoted in Dimock, *Christian Unity*, pp. 41-42.
- ³⁰ Bell, *Documents on Christian Unity*, p. 159.
- ³¹ Lambeth Report 1920, "Appeal to all Christian People", para. VIII.
- ³² Dimock, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- ³³ Keble, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
- ³⁴ Whitgift, *op. cit.*, I. p. 369.
- ³⁵ Hooker, *op. cit.*, III. xi.
- ³⁶ *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church*. Article on "Irish Articles".
- ³⁷ Hooker, *op. cit.*, IV. vii—x.
- ³⁸ Jewel, *op. cit.*, III. p. 439.
- ³⁹ Hooker, *op. cit.*, III. xi.
- ⁴⁰ Parker, "Correspondence," Parker Society, p. 105.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 434.
- ⁴² Cardwell *Conferences*, p. 184.
- ⁴³ Kirk, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
- ⁴⁴ Carey, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.
- ⁴⁵ Bicknell, *A Theological Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 493.
- ⁴⁶ Article in *Prism*, July 1959, p. 5.



Eucharist and Offertory : The Anglican Tradition

BY DONALD ROBINSON

THE committee of the 1958 Lambeth Conference which considered Prayer Book revision included in its report a list of "Suggested modifications or additions for the further recovery of other elements of the worship of the Primitive Church". Among these suggestions is the item :

"The Offertory, with which the people should be definitely associated, to be more closely connected with the Prayer of Consecration".

This suggestion implies :

- (a) that there is already an Offertory in Anglican worship ;
- (b) that the people, who may or may not at present be definitely associated with this Offertory, should be so associated ;
- (c) that this Offertory, already connected in some measure with the Prayer of Consecration, should be *more closely* connected with it.

What is the Offertory referred to in this suggestion? While it is recognized that not all the bishops at Lambeth are bishops of the Church of England or use the Prayer Book of the Church of England, the Lambeth Report rightly regards the Book of Common Prayer as the norm of Anglican liturgical tradition. A custom, therefore, which is not only found in the 1662 Prayer Book but was already the tradition of the first English Prayer Book of 1549 may rightly claim to represent the norm of Anglican tradition in the matter of the Offertory. Yet the Lambeth suggestion hardly makes sense if it refers to the Offertory in our Book of Common Prayer. Certainly there is an Offertory in our Prayer Book. With this Offertory "the people" are "definitely associated", since it is they who place "the money given at the Offertory" in a decent bason, and since it is one of their number, a churchwarden, who customarily "receives" these devotions and reverently brings them to the priest. But this Offertory (which belongs to the ante-communion service) is not connected *at all* with the Prayer of Consecration, nor is there any obvious reason why it should be.

One concludes, therefore, that the Lambeth suggestion is using "Offertory" in the sense of a ritual presentation of the bread and wine. If this is so, the wording of their suggestion is unfortunate, for it implies that there is already in our liturgy an Offertory of bread and wine having some—but an insufficient—connection with the Prayer of Consecration. This implication is open to serious question, and the first part of this paper, therefore, is an examination of the Offertory "as the church and realm hath received the same".

First of all a note on the term itself. "Offertory" is derived from the Latin *Offertorium*. A modern liturgiologist will define the *Offertorium* of the Roman liturgy as "the rite by which the bread and wine are presented (offered) to God before they are consecrated and the prayers and chant that accompany it" (so Fortesque in *The Catholic Encyclopædia*, Vol. II, p. 217). But at the time of the Reformation the term *offertorium* was, in popular use, simply the short anthem or antiphon which preceded the prayer in which the elements were offered on the altar. An example of this usage appears in Thomas Becon's *The Displaying of the Popish Mass* where, describing the Sarum service, he writes: "Then do ye say your offertory, which pope Eutichianus brought in . . . After the offertory is said, ye take the chalice up in your hands, with the little round cake lying upon the patine or cover of the chalice, and lifting up your eyes, ye pray on this manner: *Suscipe sancta Trinitas, etc.*: 'Take, O holy Trinity, this oblation, which I, unworthy sinner, offer in the honour of thee, of blessed Mary the virgin, and of all thy saints, for the salvation of the living, and for the rest or quietness of all the faithful that are dead'" (*Prayers and Other Pieces of Thomas Becon*, Parker Society edn., p. 264). In this usage, the Offertory was not the offering of the elements, but a certain form of words preceding that offering.

When the first English Prayer Book was compiled, the term "offertory" was retained, but it was applied to the Sentences of Scripture which replaced the earlier anthem. This is clear in the two rubrics in the service which mention the Offertory:

"Then shall follow for the Offertory one or more of these Sentences of holy scripture";

"In the meanwhile, while the clerks do sing the Offertory . . .". Nor is there any reason to interpret otherwise the use of the term "offertory", in a rubric at the end of the service:

"The Parishioners shall offer every Sunday, at the time of the Offertory . . .".

The term Offertory was dropped altogether in the 1552 service, though it was retained in a rubric at the end of the service referring to "collects to be said after the Offertory, when there is no Communion".

In 1662 the term was restored in the service itself, in the following rubric:

"Then shall the Priest return to the Lord's Table, and begin the Offertory, saying one or more of these Sentences following".

A new rubric among those at the end of the service speaks of "the money given at the Offertory". It is possible that Offertory here still refers merely to the saying of the Sentences. It is, however, usually taken that the saying of the Sentences is the *beginning* of the Offertory which includes the further action of presenting and placing on the Table the alms and other devotions of the people received "while these Sentences are in reading".

At all events, it is now necessary to discover what constitutes the *offering* made in our Communion service. For this purpose it will be useful, for the time being, to restrict the term Offertory to the reading of the Sentences, and to use the term Offering for the receiving and presentation of what is offered in connection with the Offertory.

What, then, is the Offering in the Church of England? It is the offering by the people of alms for the poor, gifts of money for other charitable purposes, and (since 1662) the presentation and placing of such offerings on the communion table by the priest. This Offering takes place in the Order for Holy Communion after the sermon but before the placing of bread and wine on the table in readiness for communion, where communion is to follow. If no communion is to follow, the Offering still takes place, and the service concludes with collects and (since 1552) the general prayer for the church militant here in earth. The whole action of the Offering is ordered by the Prayer Book (since 1549) to be accompanied by the Offertory, that is, reading of sentences of Scripture concerning the duty of good works, almsgiving and support of those who minister the Word.

There is no suggestion in any authorized English Prayer Book, from 1549 to the present day, that the Offering includes either the bringing of bread and wine by the people, or the placing of bread and wine on the table by the minister in readiness for communion. What is offered in connection with the Offertory is abundantly clear in the rubrics of the 1549 Prayer Book :

“Then shall follow for the *Offertory* one or more of these sentences of holy scripture, to be sung while the people do *offer*, or else one of them to be said by the minister immediately before the *offering*” (italics mine).

(There follow twenty sentences of Scripture, all concerned with a right attitude to riches or to the duty of good works in almsgiving or in the support of the ministry.)

“Where there be clerks, they shall sing one or many of the sentences above written, according to the length and shortness of the time that the people be *offering*.”

“In the mean time, while the clerks do sing the *Offertory*, so many as are disposed shall *offer* unto the poor men’s box every one according to his ability and charitable mind. And at the *offering* days appointed, every man and woman shall pay to the curate the due and accustomed *offerings*.”

This concludes the Offertory and Offering in the 1549 Book. There is no further reference in the service to these offerings. No prayer accompanied the Offering ; the prayer for the church lacking as yet the petition to “accept our alms and oblations” with which we are familiar.

The 1549 service made no suggestion that the setting of bread and wine on the table was part of the Offering. These elements were provided by the “pastors and curates”, and a rubric at the end of the service “ordered that, in recompense of such cost and charges, the parishioners of every parish shall offer every Sunday, at the time of the Offertory, the just valom and price of the holy loaf (with all such money, and other things as were wont to be offered with the same) to the use of their pastors and curates . . .”.

Thus, while recompense for the bread and wine formed part of the accustomed offerings to the use of the clergy, the 1549 Prayer Book did not invest the placing of bread and wine on the table with any “offertory” significance. The rubric read :

“ Then shall the minister take so much bread and wine as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the holy communion . . . and setting both the bread and wine upon the altar, then the priest shall say . . . ‘ The Lord be with you etc.’ ”

The revision of 1552 reduced the occurrences of the words “ offer ” and “ offering ”, and dispensed with the term Offertory in the accompanying rubric, which simply stated :

“ Then shall the churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotion of the people, and put the same into the poor men’s box : and upon the offering days appointed, every man and woman shall pay to the curate the due and accustomed offerings.”

But the term Offertory was, as we have seen, retained in a rubric at the end of the service, as was an order that the curate and churchwardens “ shall be discharged of such sums of money, or other duties, which hitherto they have paid for the same (sc. bread and wine) by order of their houses every Sunday ”.

However, there was inserted in the prayer for the church militant a petition to “ accept our alms ”. Hence it is clear that the alms constituted the Offering. By contrast, there was now no reference at all in any rubric to taking or placing bread and wine on the table.

The character of the final revision of 1662 is well known. The term “ the Offertory ” reappears before the sentences : “ then shall the Priest return to the Lord’s Table and begin the Offertory, saying one or more of these sentences following ”. These Offertory sentences are identical with those of 1549 and, as we have seen, contain nothing that can be referred to providing bread and wine for the communion. In this respect the 1662 revisers did not follow the Scottish Book of 1637, in which five new sentences had been introduced having no direct bearing on charitable gifts.

* * * *

Two additions to the 1662 Order further emphasize the distinction between the Offering and the manipulation of the elements. First, the “ alms for the poor and other devotions of the people ”, after being “ received ” by “ the deacons, churchwardens or other fit person ”, in a decent bason, are now “ reverently ” brought to the priest “ who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy table ”. The solemnity of the people’s offering of alms and other devotions, and its character as a sacrifice pleasing to God, are in this manner given liturgical expression by being “ presented ”. In marked contrast to this is the instruction to the priest, after the Offertory, merely “ to place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient ”. This plain wording was not thoughtlessly adopted. The suggestion of Bishop Cosin, that the rubric should read “ . . . the priest shall then offer up and place upon the table . . . ”, was considered by the revisers, and deliberately rejected by them. They could hardly have made it plainer that the placing of the elements on the table was neither an Offering nor part of an Offering ; the action was purely utilitarian.

Secondly, the 1662 revisers added to the petition “ accept our alms ”,

in the prayer for the church militant, the words "and oblations". A brief explanation will show the reason.

"Accept our alms" had been in the prayer since 1552. Actually, however, three types of money offering, not alms alone, had customarily been made: alms for the poor, other charitable gifts including gifts for the support of the minister, and ecclesiastical duties including recompense to the clergy and churchwardens for the purchase of bread and wine for the communion (see rubrics at the end of the service in the 1549 and 1552 books). In the 17th century, prior to the 1662 revision, there was some discussion of this matter, particularly of the propriety of collecting ecclesiastical dues during the Communion service. Scudamore says: "In 1638 Bishop Mountagu asks at his Visitation whether 'the names of such as intend to receive are taken by the Minister overnight, or the day before, they repairing unto him, that he may examine or instruct them, they pay their offerings, and not disquiet that sacred action in the chancel or church by collecting of them then and there'. Somewhat later Bishop Cosin proposed that the order should be reformed. He agrees with Mountagu that 'If it should be thus observed, and at this time when they come to receive the Communion, it would breed a great disturbance in the Church, and take up more time than can be allowed for that purpose. Wherefore', he adds, 'it is needful that some alteration were made of this rubric; and that the offerings or devotions of the people then collected should be brought to the Priest, and by him presented and laid upon the Altar or Communion Table, for such uses as be peculiarly named in the Sentences then read by him'" (*Notitia Eucharistica*, 2nd edn. 1876, p. 359, italics mine).

Thus, at the revision of 1662 the paying of ecclesiastical duties during the Offertory was apparently dropped, and the petition in the General Prayer was made more exact by the addition of "and oblations" to the words "accept our alms". It should be no longer necessary to refute the popular view that "oblations" here means the elements of bread and wine: Bishop Dowden has conclusively shown that "oblations" mean "money-offerings which were not 'alms'" (*Further Studies in the Prayer Book*, pp. 176-222). Indeed, the rubric added in 1662 makes this clear: "If there be no alms or oblations, then shall the words (*of accepting our alms and oblations*) be left out unsaid". There is no authority for saying, as some do, "Accept our oblations," when there is a communion but no collection of money.

The revisers of 1662, then, did two significant things in regard to the Offering. First, they deliberately rejected the proposal of Bishop Cosin that the bread and wine should be "offered up" as well as placed on the Table (as in the Scottish Book of 1637 and Cosin's Durham Book). Secondly, in modifying the General Prayer they deliberately defined that which God was petitioned to accept as being "our alms and oblations"; thereby, on the one hand, ignoring the elements which had been placed on the Table, and, on the other hand, acceding to Bishop Cosin's earlier desire that the offerings and devotions of the people, collected and presented and placed on the Communion Table, should be restricted to gifts "for such purposes as be peculiarly named in the Sentences".

Such is the Offering in Anglican tradition. It was adopted as an

element of liturgical worship having the strongest scriptural sanction, and its meaning is defined and controlled by the sentences of Scripture which accompany the ceremony. That section of the Old Sarum Missal, wherein the bread and wine were presented by the deacon to the celebrant and presented by the celebrant to God with a prayer for their acceptance and consecration, was entirely discontinued in 1549, as having no scriptural justification, and nothing like it has found a place in the authorized liturgy of the Church of England (whatever may be said of related liturgies) from that day to this.

* * * *

Having established that there is no Offering of bread and wine in connection with the Offertory of our Book of Common Prayer, nor has been in any English Prayer Book, it remains to examine the supposition of the Lambeth recommendation that an Offertory of bread and wine, closely connected with the Prayer of Consecration was, nevertheless, "an element of the worship of the Primitive Church". (The question as to what is meant by the Primitive Church, and whether the practices of the Primitive Church should be the criteria of worship in a church which professes the rule *sola scriptura*, are discussed in an article on the New Baptismal Services in *The Churchman* for June, 1960.)

Dom Gregory Dix has, in recent years, popularized the notion that an Offertory of the elements, in which "bread and wine are 'taken' and placed on the table together" is part of the "absolutely invariable" shape of the liturgy throughout antiquity (*The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 48). Dix regards this Offertory as the liturgical equivalent of the Lord's action in "taking" the bread and cup at the Last Supper. But while a four-fold shape of the liturgy—taking, blessing, breaking, and giving—has a clear scriptural basis, a moment's thought will show how little ground there is for describing as an Offertory the act of taking the bread and wine.

There was no Offertory at the Last Supper. Jesus "took bread" which was already laid on the table where He reclined. Nor did Jesus "offer" the elements to God. The precise words He used in giving thanks were so incidental to His sacramental action as not to have been recorded in the gospel narratives; but if we may assume that He employed the customary Jewish thanksgiving ("Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, Eternal King, who bringest forth bread from the earth"), He did not ask God in any sense to accept the food as a gift. Neither in the New Testament, nor in the earliest eucharistic prayers known to us (in chapters 9 and 10 of the very Jewish *Didache*), is there the slightest hint that the cup or the loaf were thought of as offerings or sacrifices in any form.

How, then, did the action of bringing up bread and wine arise, and how came it to be invested with "offertory" significance?

The bringing of bread and wine for the Lord's Supper to the president is first mentioned in Justin Martyr (c. A.D. 150) but the action there is, as Dr. J. H. Srawley remarks, "quite informal" (*The Early History of the Liturgy*, p. 35). It is invested with no special significance. Though some may regard it as "the beginnings of what afterwards became the ritual offertory" (*ibid.*), it is anachronistic to describe it as

the "Offertory" in Justin's day, as some writers do (for example, W. D. Maxwell in his *Outline of Christian Worship*, p. 13). Justin, incidentally, mentions almsgiving in his section on Sunday worship, but he does not say when it took place, or even that it took place within the service at all. He says: "they that are well to do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows, etc." (*Apol.*, 1. 67).

The Roman Catholic liturgiologist, Dr. Adrian Fortesque, regards the bringing of bread and wine to the altar as basically a prior "detail to observe" if the action of the Lord at the Last Supper is to be repeated at all. But "very soon (*sc.* after the simple action of Justin's time) the idea developed that as they are brought they should be offered to God at once, before they are consecrated. This is only one case of the universal practice of dedicating to God anything that is to be used for His service. We dedicate churches: bless the water for baptism and offer to God the bread and wine to be consecrated" (*The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy*, p. 296). Note Fortesque's explanation of how meaning came to be attached to this incidental feature of the service. He does not, however, make clear exactly *when* he considers this "offering to God" to have begun. Even in the liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, belonging to the second half of the fourth century, "the gifts," he says, "are brought to the altar in the simplest way when they are wanted; there is nothing that can really be called an offertory at all" (*op. cit.*, p. 297).

Another distinguished liturgiologist, Anton Baumstark, whose *Comparative Liturgy* was edited for English readers by Professor F. L. Cross of Oxford and published by Mowbrays in 1958, gives an explanation differing only slightly from that of Fortesque. Baumstark agrees that the bringing of the elements has no intrinsic significance. There are, he says, two types of action in liturgy: those which "from the time of their admission to the cult have had a symbolic meaning", and those which are "intrinsically utilitarian and required by the very course of the function, by its outward structure". The bringing of the elements belongs to the latter group. Baumstark observes, however, that "the devotion of the faithful has been such that they have often found gratification in attaching a symbolic meaning *a posteriori* even to actions of the (latter) kind" (*Comparative Liturgy*, p. 130).

Some will consider that the reference in 1 Clement 44 to "offering the gifts of the bishop's office" is evidence for an Offertory of the elements as early as the late first century. Even Bishop Lightfoot holds the expression to refer to the offering of the total worship of the congregation including its charitable contributions and provisions for the eucharist. He draws attention to the mention of such gifts and offerings in Book II of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. But the *Apostolic Constitutions* is a good deal later, even if it is to some extent influenced by 1 Clement. There is nothing in 1 Clement to compel the conclusion that "the gifts of the bishop's office" which the Corinthian elders had "blamelessly and holily offered" were an offertory of bread and wine for the communion. For one thing, the expression may be purely metaphorical. Clement's task is to impress on the Corinthians the divinely ordered character of the episcopal ministry. You must not

throw out men who have done, and done properly, what God laid upon them to do. These men "have ministered unblamably to the flock of Christ". That was their *leitourgia*, their sacrificial service. Clement adopts Old Testament terminology, and his argument is logical. Men who have so ministered, have "offered the gifts" of a bishop's office. Paul used similar metaphorical language when he spoke of offering the gifts of his apostolic ministry (Rom. xv. 16). If, however, we take the language less metaphorically, Clement still provides no evidence for a specific Offertory of eucharistic elements. Even if, in fact, the elements for the eucharist were taken out of the general charitable offerings of the people (Clement does not say so), the bringing up of such elements for use in the communion was subsequent and incidental to the general offering of charitable gifts: it was not itself an Offertory.

Three conclusions may be made at this point.

First, the Offertory as Dix conceives it—the taking of bread and wine and placing them on the table together—is *not* an essential part of the shape of the liturgy.

Secondly, in so far as such an action was carried out in the church of the first and second centuries, it was incidental and utilitarian, and was not invested, so far as we know, with any theological meaning: in particular, it was not an "offertory".

Thirdly, our present rubric—"the priest shall then place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient"—is closer to the informal procedure of the "primitive" church than is the modern "people's offertory" with its various *a posteriori* symbolisms (such as, that the elements symbolize the created order, or the fruits of men's labours, or the worshippers themselves).

* * * *

In regard to the first of these conclusions, it is important to note that Dr. E. L. Mascall has recently criticized Dix's inclusion of the Offertory in the four-fold shape of the eucharistic action. Mascall rightly points out that "the first of the four 'actions' of which the eucharist is composed—the 'taking'—does not occur until *after* the elements have been brought up" (*The Recovery of Unity*, p. 149). The four actions, taking, blessing, breaking, and giving, should all take place in close relation to one another and in the canon itself, according to Mascall. As we pointed out earlier, this is exactly what one sees in the action of the Last Supper, when Jesus "took" bread which had already been brought, in some manner unknown, to the table.

Now, if *this* is the action which it is important to reproduce in our liturgy, clearly no alteration of our Prayer Book service is needed in this respect, for the action of "taking" is specifically rehearsed, in imitation of our Lord's action "in the same night as He was betrayed", in the manual acts during the Prayer of Consecration. But the Lambeth recommendation can hardly have reference to such an idea.

However, it is the theology of Mascall which provides the clue as to what really lies behind the Lambeth recommendation. Mascall's view of the Offertory (that is, the bringing of bread and wine to the table) proceeds from his view of the eucharistic action itself. His theology of the Communion is that "there is one offering, an offering of bread and

wine, which, being transformed by divine acceptance, becomes the offering of the Body and Blood; and it takes place in the canon" (*Corpus Christi*, p. 183, *The Recovery of Unity*, p. 149). What then is the meaning of the bringing up of bread and wine? Following the liturgical tendency noted by Baumstark, a symbolic meaning is attached *a posteriori* to this once incidental action. The Offertory becomes, on Mascall's view, "the bringing of the elements for the sacrifice"; it is the "foundation of the eucharist" (though "not part of it"). Naturally, it is desirable on this view that the people should be "definitely associated" with such an Offertory, and that it should be "closely connected" with the Prayer of Consecration. But the justification of such an Offertory stands or falls with the justification of the eucharistic theology from which it is derived.

Not all who urge the introduction of an Offertory of elements into our liturgy will go all the way with Mascall's theology of the sacrament. But there can be no justification of an Offertory which does not regard the bread and wine as *in some sense* offered to God in the eucharistic action itself. The Offertory cannot be anything but an anticipatory action. Even the startling language of the Offertory prayer in the Roman liturgy is generally interpreted now as anticipating the *offerimus* of the canon itself.

The Church of England nowhere in its formularies teaches that the Lord's Supper was instituted as a means whereby we might offer bread and wine to God, either as a material oblation or as representing something else. Our church does not teach this, because the New Testament does not teach it. To give thanks for bread and wine, or for what bread and wine may represent by Christ's ordinance in the sacrament, is the very opposite of offering those elements as oblations or gifts to God. The compilers of our liturgy preserved the biblical paradox that a worshipper offers a sacrifice of praise (that is, glorifies God) by the very act of *receiving* with faith and thanksgiving the gift of God, but at no point did they allow that bread and wine are presented to God. Nothing is offered in our Prayer of Consecration except the petition "that we *receiving* these thy creatures of bread and wine may be *partakers* of His most blessed body and blood". If nothing is offered to God in the form of bread and wine at the Consecration, there can be no point at all in an anticipatory Offertory of such elements.

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The chief conclusions of this study may be stated thus :

1. The furnishing of bread and wine is a necessary, but incidental and utilitarian, feature of the sacrament of Holy Communion.
2. There is no evidence that the bringing up of bread and wine for the Communion was regarded as an Offertory either in the New Testament or in the second century, although the bread and wine for the Communion may, as early as the second century, have been taken from the charitable gifts furnished as alms by the worshippers.
3. The conception of an Offertory of the bread and wine is inseparable from a conception of the sacrament itself as being in some sense a sacrifice of material elements to God.

4. There is no conception of the sacrament as being a sacrifice, nor is there an Offertory of elements, in the New Testament, or in the Anglican tradition as represented by the Book of Common Prayer from 1549 to 1662, that is to the present day.
5. The Offertory in the Book of Common Prayer is the Offertory of alms and oblations as sanctioned by clear scriptural teaching, and this Offertory has no connection with the action of the sacrament itself.

Huldreich Zwingli, Swiss Reformer

BY JAMES ATKINSON

ALL the Reformers have suffered misunderstanding because of the generalizations of historians and theologians.

It is true that misunderstanding arises from other factors. Sooner or later all the Reformers found themselves involved in controversy and polemic, and frequently this had the effect of sharpening their views to the mischievous point of a catch phrase. For example, Luther was and is criticized for his alleged one-sidedness in his emphasis of *sola fide*, but men forget that his emphasis on faith was an effort to redress the balance of a wrong emphasis on works. Luther never taught anything other than salvation in Christ, but in an atmosphere of a semi-Pelagian and semi-Judaistic interpretation of Christianity which resisted salvation in Christ *only*, his responsibility was to say so and make it clear beyond compromise and confusion. Calvin experienced a similar difficulty when men rushed in to define and explain his plain Biblical and catholic emphasis on predestination (though their anthropocentric terms were powerless to do so), thereby removing the doctrine out of its one setting that validates it, namely, the mercy of God active in Christ. Zwingli suffered, too. He lost his life in controversy on the as yet unsolved question that if Christianity is true, what, then, is its relation to society in general? Even Luther misunderstood Zwingli in his relation to humanism and the sacraments. He even suspected him of enthusiasm. Small wonder is it that lesser men have to make quick judgments on the Reformers and pass on to fill in the picture of history, leaving these false judgments and misunderstandings for all time.

If truth pays a high premium to controversy, it pays higher ones to prejudice and ignorance and natural conservatism.

Controversy, polemic, prejudice, ignorance, and conservatism are fairly easy to see, and a man who stands in the freedom wherewith Christ has set him free may understand, assess, and allow for all these. What he is not in an easy position to estimate are the general judgments of historians and theologians, because in large areas of his

thinking he has to make do with the general judgments of others in order to make any progress at all. And it is at this point more than any other that the Reformers suffer. We ought to free our minds constantly of these generalizations (which all too often merge into caricatures). Luther is generalized as the coarse Germanic Hercules who divided Christendom with his emphasis on faith alone. Zwingli is thought of as the humanist and patriot, the father of liberal protestantism, the man who bequeathed to history a commemorative view of the Holy Communion. Calvin for his unbending systemization of evangelical freedom into a new and worse scholasticism. To break down these generalizations and half-truths we have to know what each Reformer was called of God to do in his day and generation for the people of God.

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It is a remarkable fact that the Reformation broke out simultaneously and independently in different places, and this would appear to be an indication of the divine imperative behind the movement. It had to come. This also means that the Reformation as such consisted of several "types" of reformation in the then given situation. There was Luther's, there was Zwingli's, there was Bucer's, there was Calvin's, and there was even the Anglican: other divisions could be named. But certainly, of these principal types at least, it must be conceded that each was a legitimate "type", and, on its own first principles, valid. This is not to imply that each type is valid in all its forms for all time. Zwingli's answer to the social problem of Christianity for Switzerland can never be valid for the twentieth century in Switzerland or anywhere else. But *mutatis mutandis* his first principles stand, and each generation needs to reappraise its own situation. We cannot tie our hands to stop them trembling. The tendency in ecumenical circles to hanker after a One Church may prove to be a chimera, for ultimately this resolves itself on institutional lines. The Church was founded in Abraham and reconstituted in Christ, but Christ warned His contemporaries against their saying they had Abraham as their father, and posterity lest it say "Lord, Lord . . ." and thereby claim to be of the people of God. Both in the Old Testament and in the New, institutionalism was given short shrift. Had God not left a remnant we had been as Sodom and Gomorrah. It might be better to give more thought to the remnant, its nature, its validity, its vocation, than to the institution of which it is a part and out of which it is called.

In short, we need constantly to free ourselves not only of our prejudices and ignorances and conservatism and polemical positions, but more particularly of the more insidious generalizations which obscure our thinking and pervert our judgment. In the case of Zwingli there could be no shorter or happier method than to work through the four volumes on Zwingli written by the late Oskar Farner, of the University of Zurich, the world renowned Zwingli scholar.*

The first volume (340 pages) deals with Zwingli's birth and boyhood, as well as his years at school and the university (1484-1506) and was published in 1943. Volume two (488 pages) tells the story of his

* Published by the Zwingli-Verlag, Zurich.

development into a reformer from 1506-1522, and was published in 1946. The results of his preaching and teaching are developed in volume three (615 pages) published in 1954, covering the period 1522-1525. Volume four (1525 to 1531) Farner was unable to see through the press. He died in 1958. His friend Pfister put the finishing touches to a manuscript virtually completed and the volume (574 pages) was published in 1960, thus completing this monument of learning.

Not the least value of these works is the way Farner sets about his task. Step by step he takes his subject, and on the warp of a detailed history, he weaves in the woof of an unimpeachable judgment. The warp is as remarkable as the woof. It consists not only of a masterly grasp of what Zwingli did, but also of what he wrote and said. The Swiss dialect is difficult to read, in spite of the fact that Farner does offer a little help occasionally (a foreigner needs a little more help), but the full flavour of the authentic Zwingli stalks across these pages. The pages teem with witticisms and homely sallies, and often remind one of Luther in this respect. The author makes Zwingli live. But he does more. He offers, in addition to the views of famous Zwingli experts such as Walther Kohler, his own judgments as fresh as they are discerning. See for example his discussion of Zwingli's relation to scholasticism and humanism in Vol. I, pp. 206ff. Farner takes the view that men have been too ready to think of Zwingli as a humanist, and have tended to overlook his study of scholasticism and his reaction to it. Farner relates Zwingli's doctrine of the Holy Communion to his rebellion against the Platonism of Thomas Aquinas and Scotus, maintaining that both the Catholics and Luther were wrong in that they were bedevilled by a Platonic conception of *substantia*. Later, at Marburg in 1529, it should be remembered that Bucer, a supporter of Luther, was won over to Zwingli's side on this matter by his unanswerable reasonableness.

But the woof is as fascinating as the warp. Not only does he weave in the considered judgments of history but he weaves in his own judgments. Nothing could be better calculated to break down easy generalizations and build up a truer picture. His massive knowledge lends great weight to all his judgments. All the time he is cautious about snap judgments and generalizations. He shows Zwingli's theological, philosophical, and social antecedents, and their importance both as part of his intellectual equipment and the cause of his animadversion. Farner never makes the error of making Zwingli into a modern. He will not let anybody resolve the difficulties by arguing with simplified conceptions of their own making. He rules out outright comparisons of a "conservative" Luther over against a "free-thinking" Zwingli. He brings to his task that delightful quality of the scientist who seeks the facts and works to keep them whole. See, for example, how he weighs up the significance of Zwingli's teacher, Wittenbach, in the life of the reformer, and, whilst seeing the beauty and worth of the old teacher, gently refuses to consider him a reformer before the Reformers, as he is so frequently made out to be. Of such tender, delicate, and sensitive judgments is the woof that Farner weaves on the warp that he has selected. It is a great exercise in academic discipline to read through these four volumes. They liberate and inform.

The volumes are also greatly enriched by heavy documentation in appendixes, as well as by copious notes, references, indexes, maps, sketches, and diagrams. Farner has given us a classic, definitive, and authoritative treatment of Zwingli. This was his life's work. All students of the Reformation are indebted to him.

* * * *

The important thing about these volumes is its subject, Zwingli himself, his work and his significance.

Zwingli was born on January 1st, 1484, a few weeks after Luther, in a tiny village high in the Alps above Lake Zurich. Of peasant stock, he early showed his brilliance, and graduated at the University of Vienna in 1505, where he met Wittenbach. Ordained in 1506 and appointed to the pastoral charge of Glarus, he laboured there ten years studying the classics, the Fathers, and the Bible at the same time. In 1516 he removed to Einsiedeln, where he began to show his real theology. He preached that Christ, not Mary, is our only salvation, and gained his reputation as a preacher. He was promoted to Zurich in 1518 and by his Biblical preaching began to formulate the principles and doctrines of the Reformation. But not the least important aspect of his work was that he put the layman on his theological feet. The effectiveness of Zwingli was in no small part due to the immense power of his lay support. It was the compelling power of enlightened laymen that gave impetus to the Swiss Reformation. Like Luther in this respect, he simply taught the Word and let the Spirit move the people in His own good time : he never sought to force his way by legislative enactment.

In 1518 an Indulgences crisis arose and Zwingli was able to have the Franciscan Samson removed. But the next year he was severely stricken by the plague and lost a brother by the disease. This gave a great shock to Zwingli and deepened his sense of sin and his awareness of the Gospel. He recovered to preach more ably the authority of Scripture and the power of the Gospel.

His two great principles were that all doctrinal and ecclesiastical questions must be settled in accordance with the teaching and example of Scripture, and that a Christian government has both the right and duty to see that the rulings of Scripture are observed. The first issues that arose—fasting, celibacy of the clergy, and intercession to the saints—Zwingli victoriously handled in the cause of evangelical theology.

In a public disputation at Zurich, 1522, Zwingli outlined his reforming doctrine in the shape of Sixty-Seven Theses. The council found in favour of Zwingli and the consequence was that the tempo of reform was increased. He taught that Christ offered Himself, and abolished the idea of the mass as a sacrifice. Celibacy was abandoned, and the worship of images and the use of Latin in public services fell into disuse, the baptismal office was translated. Relics, too, as well as religious houses, lost their significance. Eventually Zwingli himself married (1524) and in 1525 the Lord's Supper was celebrated and administered to the people in both kinds. By this time Eck (Luther's redoubtable opponent) had shown his hand, but Zwingli was now the

recognized ecclesiastical and theological leader. (Had Wycliffe had the lay support Zwingli enjoyed, we might have had the Reformation two centuries earlier.)

A break as decisive as this committed Zwingli to the task of ecclesiastical reorganization, as well as the recruitment of an evangelical ministry. He tackled the former in the natural way of an independent Swiss by establishing cantonal synods rather than a new hierarchy. He tackled the second by founding a theological school at the Minster, seeking to establish the reformation on sound intellectual and spiritual bases. An interesting feature of Zwingli is his thoroughness. He had the same theological aims as Luther, but unlike him (but like Calvin) he stressed the importance of organization. He saw with crystal clarity, as Luther did, that the Reformation demanded an educated and Christian laity which would ultimately assume the responsibility for Christian government.

At the public disputation at Berne in January 1528 (Vol. IV, pp. 264-288) Zwingli brought forward the following ten propositions.

1. That the Holy Christian Church, of which Christ is the only head, is born of the Word of God, abides therein, and does not listen to the voice of a stranger;
2. That this Church imposes no laws on the conscience of people without the sanction of the Word of God, and that the Laws of the Church are binding only so far as they agree with the Word ;
3. That Christ alone is our righteousness and our salvation, that to trust to any other atonement as satisfaction is to deny Him ;
4. That it cannot be proved from the Holy Scripture that the body and blood of Christ are corporeally present in the bread and in the wine of the Lord's Supper ;
5. That the Mass in which Christ is offered to God the Father for the sins of the living and the dead is contrary to Scripture and a gross affront to the sacrifice and death of the Saviour ;
6. That we should not pray to dead mediators and intercessors, but to Jesus Christ alone ;
7. That there is no trace of Purgatory in Scripture ;
8. That to set up pictures and adore them is also contrary to Scripture, and that images and pictures ought to be destroyed where there is danger in giving them adoration ;
9. That marriage is lawful to all, to the clergy as well as the laity ;
10. That shameful living is more disgraceful among the clergy than among the laity.

As a result of this conference the Bernese were won over to the Reformation, and Zwingli returned home in triumph, as Farner so beautifully describes in Vol. IV, pp. 286-288.

On the Marburg Conference of 1529, Farner gives four of the most interesting chapters in his book (Vol. IV, pp. 339-381). The reader feels he is in the room listening to this tragic deliberation. The Diet of Speier, 1529, had proscribed all evangelical teaching. The seriousness of the situation compelled Zwingli to consider some sort of alliance

with the Lutherans. Zwingli sought recognition only, but Luther's inflexibility (intensified by Melancthon) wrecked the project, though a shocking scourge of influenza, or some such sickness in the city, was a serious handicap, too. Disagreement of this kind caused the hopeless situation next year at Augsburg, when the evangelicals presented not one front but three : the Augustana, the Tetrapolitan, and the Fidei Ratio.

But to return to Luther and Melancthon facing Zwingli and Oecolampadius at Marburg : Fourteen articles were drawn up and signed by both parties. The last of these articles was the only one expressing disagreement, but that disagreement was insuperable. Luther insisted on the corporeal presence of Christ's body and blood in the Holy Communion. Zwingli argued that the body was in heaven and not there in the elements, and Farner is particularly helpful in showing Zwingli's philosophical attack on the Platonic idea of *substantia* found in Aquinas and Scotus, and from which Luther had not emancipated himself. Zwingli looked to John vi. 63 for his doctrine : " It is the spirit that quickeneth ; the flesh profiteth nothing : the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." But Luther would not move from the scriptural " This is my body ". Zwingli was so upset by Luther's refusal to recognize the Swiss reformers as brethren that he burst into tears. Luther was considerably shaken by this exhibition, and sought to avoid all occasion of bitterness after this. After four hundred years the reality of ecumenical gatherings still suffers gravely on this very issue.

In 1530 Zwingli published the Bible in German, and in the following year his commentaries on the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah.

But when the theological Reformation was established and then secured, Zwingli found himself increasingly involved in political affairs, partly arising from the fact that his theology demanded of society its expression within that society as well as its defence by that society, and partly owing to the Forest Cantons being opposed to all and any religious reform. It is unfair to Zwingli to say that he taught that the Gospel was to be supported by the sword, though Luther suspected him of this, as countless others have done since. Zwingli's view was simply that if Christianity is true it is the responsibility of a government to support it, and even to make alliances to do so. This accounts for his seeking alliances with Hesse, France, and Venice to prevent isolation. But these alliances fell through. The Forest Cantons attacked and Zurich was ill-prepared for its defence. Heavily outnumbered, the troops took to the field with Zwingli in the dual role of fighting man and chaplain. Bravely he fought and bravely he fell on the field of Cappel in 1531, leaving his life's work limited and incomplete. But it was abiding, and under John Calvin, his true successor, received its eventual fulfilment.

* * * *

When we come to consider the theology of Zwingli there are two first principles to bear in mind. First, there is the supremacy of Scripture. To Zwingli, the revelation in Scripture was alone determinative in all matters of faith and morals. Second, the sovereignty of God: God was

utterly sovereign in His election and grace. Let us consider how these worked out in practice.

It is true that Zwingli appears to have a rational approach to his doctrine of God. Philosophy and reflection led him to think of God as being, and then to his uniqueness and sovereignty and providence. Reason helped him to shape his doctrine. In these respects he differed little from his scholastic precursors. But when Zwingli turned to the problem of who and what God is he took His self-revelation in the Old and New Testaments as basic and fundamental. This knowledge alone showed man what God is, and this knowledge alone put him into any relationship with Him. It was here he learned of the transcendental nature of God and of His self-existence: the unique, the infinite, the alone, the eternal, the self-sufficient, dependent on no other creature; the God who was good, and showed His active goodness in creation, providence and redemption; the God who was perfect, and whose righteousness and love flow ever freely *ad extra*; the God determined to save His creation.

This buoyant doctrine of God, stressing His sovereignty and His goodness, posed in an acute form his doctrine of providence in relation to the existence of evil and the Fall. God, he argued, was the cause of everything, and he defended himself from the charge of making God responsible for evil by saying that in sinful acts the sin derives from man, not God.

Such a view of God also involved Zwingli in a rigorous doctrine of divine predestination and election. This meant a free determination of the divine will concerning those who are to be saved. Critics find this view depressing and demoralizing. But it never meant this to Zwingli. It came with a glorious measure of certainty, of conviction: when God has spoken it is final and settled. This doctrine of determination needs setting within its original framework, the divine redemptive activity, for the framework not only explains it but removes all misunderstanding and bitterness. In this redemptive activity God makes atonement for man in the incarnation, death, and resurrection of Jesus, and provokes man to faith and works by the secret operation of the Holy Spirit.

It would appear that the roots of Zwingli's reforming zeal lie in this stress on the divine initiative and sovereignty. If this is true, and Zwingli was certain of its truth, then not only was current Christianity not New Testament Christianity at all, but it rested on semi-Pelagian presuppositions. If salvation is by election and grace, and faith a direct operation of the Holy Spirit, then what place could be left for schemes of thought which allow for human merit? What point was there in sacramental observances which operated on an *ex opere operato* efficacy? All the Reformers were great teachers. And when Zwingli taught these truths, the old structure crumbled and a new laity arose. It is interesting to look at Farner's comparison of Luther and Zwingli at this point. He sees Luther's beginning in the search for a God who was gracious, who could heal his troubled soul. Zwingli asked himself what he could do to rescue his people from disaster (Vol. I, p. 151). This explains the differences between the two Reformers not a little.

This same basic teaching impelled Zwingli to a fresh evangelical understanding of the doctrine of justification by faith. In this matter he was close to Luther. Justification meant the declaration to God's elect, those who were elected to faith in Jesus Christ, of God's justice and mercy in Christ. This view did not mean that a man was to think of faith as some sort of rational assent. It meant a whole quickening and movement of the entire man in a fresh and new direction by the direct action of the Holy Spirit. Zwingli was exactly like Luther on the relation of faith and works, and Law and Gospel. Works spring from faith. He was stiffly embattled against any form of legalism or doctrine of merits, though a staunch upholder of the validity of the Law as of God, as Calvin was (and Paul before them!).

This same doctrine of the divine sovereignty in election and grace was determinative of Zwingli's conception of the Church. The true Church was the whole company of the elect, and is invisible in that there are no external tests which may be applied. He saw the distinguishing marks of the Church as preaching, sacraments, and discipline. In thinking of these three, the second two are most easily misunderstood or forgotten. Moral discipline within the redeemed community was a distinctive quality of the Swiss Reformation, and has had repercussions throughout Europe as far as the New World. Zwingli's views of the sacraments are too cheaply dismissed. It is important to remember that while he was denying the literal, physical presence of Christ in the sacrament to all participants, he was affirming the spiritual presence of Christ to all believers. He challenged the medieval philosophy at this point more completely than Luther. On the matter of baptism he sought to remove all traces of an *ex opere operato* validity, and in this stood nearer the New Testament than we give him credit for. When all is said, at Marburg no less a person than Bucer was won over, and, had it not been for the understandable fears and apprehensions of Melanchthon for future relations with Rome, perhaps Zwingli and Luther might have preserved the unity that does in fact lie in their theology.

Zwingli was exposed to the same difficulties as Calvin in that their emphasis on the sovereignty of God is mutual. Zwingli had to include the fall of man in the providential ordering of God as well as a rather rigid predestination both to life and perdition. Not all will be satisfied by the ascription of the activity to God and sin as man's contribution, but even this goes a long way towards the solution of a problem which man, as man, can never solve. There is still a fine ring about Zwingli's sturdy insistence on the providential sovereignty of God (and no small comfort to a sinner!). Perhaps the Zwinglian emphasis could be maintained and some intellectual help given if we were to think of God as the supreme causality, if not the sole. There is something less harsh and rigorous about Zwingli. His theology is always tempered by his humanism.

Over and above the immense theological weight of his judgments, which by and large will endure, Zwingli has much to say to contemporary man, particularly ecumenical man. He reminds us of the supremacy of Scripture in all matters of belief and conduct, as well as the assurance of the divine activity. He shows the givenness of

faith and the Gospel, as well as the error of institutionalism and an *ex opere operatum* sacramentalism. But always he is first and foremost the preacher of the Gospel. He knew the value of an evangelical, educated, preaching, teaching ministry, and the urgency of its counterpart, a responsible and informed laity. He saw the responsibility of Christianity to society as a whole, and the duty of responsible government. He had a refreshing intellectual honesty, a free spirit and a firm integrity. He was always reasonable and always open to reason and new thinking. He sought unity in Christ and in truth. He wanted a Church free of error and superstition, a holy Church, one centred on Christ and made up of all those elected to faith in Christ, a Church deriving its meaning, origin, and purpose from Scripture, and its hope in God.

Zwingli has a contribution to make to the theological debate, and Farner has rendered Christian men a service which perhaps no other man could have rendered by giving us a picture of Zwingli authoritative and authentic which will endure for generations, even all time.



Book Reviews

Reviewers in this Issue

George Cansdale, Esq.	The Rev. J. A. Motyer, M.A., B.D.
The Rev. H. L. Ellison, B.A., B.D.	The Rev. R. E. Nixon, M.A.
The Rev. E. M. B. Green, M.A.	The Rev. J. I. Packer, M.A., D.Phil.
The Rt. Rev. Frank Houghton, B.A.	Arthur Pollard, Esq., B.A., B.Litt.
The Rev. Philip E. Hughes, M.A., B.D., D.Litt.	The Rev. J. C. Pollock, M.A.
The Rev. Principal Hugh Jordan, M.A., B.D.	The Rev. S. S. Smalley, M.A.
The Rev. F. D. Kidner, M.A.	The Rev. L. E. H. Stephens-Hodge, M.A.
	The Rev. Alan M. Stibbs, M.A.

SPIRIT OF GOD.

By *Eduard Schweizer and others.* (*A and C. Black.*) 108 pp. 15s.

It is fortunate for English students of the Bible, particularly those who do not have German, that important, selected articles from the famous *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich and now in resumed production, are being made available in translation. One of the most recent is the article on *pneuma* by Eduard Schweizer and others, which has just appeared in a translation by Anthony Harvey.

This article is the longest in Kittel's *Wörterbuch*, and to bring it within the range of this series, some of the material has necessarily been omitted. Wisely the theology of the concept has been given greater prominence than the history of the word, and this means that the translated article now consists of a section by Friedrich Baumgärtel on the Old Testament, followed by part of Erik Sjöberg's treatment of the notion in intertestamental Rabbinic Judaism. This leaves the important contribution of Eduard Schweizer himself, which culminates in his exhaustive study of *pneuma* in its New Testament setting. Apart also from a glance at the Apostolic Fathers, there is a bibliography and a complete *index locorum*. The entire work is well annotated, with reference to all the important recent contributions to the subject; though here, as throughout, the translator has been aware of the purpose of this edition, and omitted all reference to untranslated work in German.

The first brief section reminds us that the concept of *ruach* in the Old Testament is as much ethical as dynamic and creative. The use of *ruach* in Psalm li. 10 (12) with reference to *man* is not considered by Baumgärtel, however, and all the more surprisingly since it is the developed relation between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man that is selected for particular treatment during the consideration of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Section II (pp. 17f.). The meaning of the term in the New Testament (Section III) is an invaluable study which leaves

no stone unturned, and so provides us with a veritable gold-mine which is inevitably more akin to a text-book than a work of biblical theology. On the way through, suggestions are made that are interesting (*cf.* the suggestion made about the grammar and theology of *koinōnia tou hagiou pneumatos*, II Cor. xiii. 13, pp. 83f.), but also surprising (*cf.* the unqualified denial of the Pauline authorship of both Ephesians and the Pastoral Epistles, pp. 97ff.).

All in all, we are going to remain very much indebted to the authors, translator, and publisher of this important volume.

S. S. SMALLEY.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW.

By Floyd V. Filson. (A. and C. Black.) 319 pp. 28s.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK.

By Sherman E. Johnson. (A. and C. Black.) 268 pp. 25s.

There is a real demand today for commentaries which are reliable in scholarship and at the same time relevant to the Church situation ; witness the popularity of Torch, Tyndale, and now Black's commentaries. The aim of this series, under Dr. Chadwick's editorship, is to be moderately priced, full enough for academic study, but primarily concerned with what the writer is saying and its relevance to the community for which he wrote it, and to ourselves.

Professor Filson, Dean of the McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, has produced a worthy contribution to the series in his commentary on Matthew. It is by far the most significant full scale treatment in England since McNeile's *magnum opus* in 1915. Filson differs from McNeile in several ways. His comments are based on the English text (his own translation) not on the Greek. His treatment is by paragraphs, not verse by verse. This has the advantage that the reader does not lose the wood for the trees, but the disadvantage that the commentary is, perforce, far less full. A further contrast between them is McNeile's concentration on the Aramaic background, and Filson's neglect of it to a great extent. Filson's aim, of course, is different ; his main concern is not literary but religious. He does not attempt to reconstruct possible sources, but rather to grasp and state the meaning of the author—how Matthew understood the Christian gospel, and what he intended the Church to learn from his book.

The forty-four page Introduction is brilliant. He pays attention to the importance of Matthew's Gospel in the early Church, to its leading features and prominent themes, to its authorship and date (in his view, an unknown Jewish Christian with wide missionary concern in the eighties). While paying due respect to the views of Kilpatrick and Stendahl concerning the purpose and origin of the gospel, his own suggestion is more balanced and satisfying than either. The conflicting attitude to the Gentiles apparent in the Gospel is resolved in a most mature consideration ; and the so-called " church interest " of the evangelist is seen in its true light as the present embodiment of the Kingdom. Only in his understanding of Matthew's eschatology does he

fall short of his own high standards. He does not appreciate the Transfiguration, the Ascension, the giving of the Spirit, and the Destruction of Jerusalem as proleptic elements of the Last Day, with its themes of glory, kingship, power, and judgment. Thus he does not account for the evangelist's distinction between "these days" and "those days" in chapter xxiv, the tension between realized and unrealized eschatology.

In the commentary itself he is, broadly speaking, conservative, and intent on allowing the text to speak for itself. Criticism is his servant, not his master, and there is a refreshing humility in his attempt to understand what the gospel has to say, rather than to import into it his ideas and theories. Where the narrative raises doubts, he leaves the reader to choose between alternative explanations. He is unimpressed by the extreme advocates of the Form Critical approach, and is critical of the tendency of that school to take refuge from hard sayings or actions of Jesus in the supposed creativeness of the early Church, though he thinks it likely in a few cases. He doubts, for instance, the authenticity of the explanation appended to the parables in chapter xiii (alas, he has not read Cranfield or Carrington). Filson is interested in theological issues. The Virgin Birth, Baptism, and Transfiguration are judiciously treated; he is not unaware of the light shed on the date of the Last Supper by Mlle. Jaubert; he does not shrink from the finality of hell as expressed in the word *aionios*. From time to time, of course, there are disappointments; the parable of the sheep and goats, for instance, is not interpreted Christologically in the light of vii. 17, 22, 23, but as teaching that the "faithful and humane are saved". Nor does his appreciation of the purpose of the parables approach the insight of Professor Torrance. But these are minor blemishes on a book which is readable, reverent, balanced, and should enjoy a wide circulation.

Any current commentator on Mark runs into two difficulties because of the vast number of predecessors in this field: unless he takes account of their views he is branded as unread; if he does, he is in danger of becoming a mere *pedisequus ac breviator* of their views. Dr. Johnson does not altogether escape either horn of this dilemma. And an even more pressing difficulty is the publication of a brilliant commentary on Mark by the former Archbishop of Quebec. Comparisons between these two works, originating from the same side of the Atlantic in the same year, are inevitable. There will be many, I dare say, who feel that if Carrington is twice the price, he is more than twice the value.

None the less this is quite a useful book. It fulfils the aim of the series to provide commentaries both reliable and relevant, untechnical yet full enough for serious academic study. Dr. Johnson, who is Dean of the Church Divinity School, Berkely, California, tries to present the gospel from the viewpoint of the evangelist, and in this he frequently succeeds, though at times the professional theologian gets the better of him. A great deal of carefully selected and thought out information is packed into the 238 pages of commentary on Dr. Johnson's own translation from the Greek. His acquaintance with the literature of the subject is extensive; his rabbinic love and familiarity with Amaraic are constantly and helpfully in evidence, and he is at home both in the

classics and among the early fathers. Of particular interest to English readers will be his indebtedness on critical matters to Lohmeyer and Grant whose views are too little known in this country. He introduces us, *en passant*, to the writings of many American scholars, but appears ignorant of a good many English writers, Taylor and Cranfield among them.

In *prolegomena* he briefly surveys recent trends in Marcan studies. He has a guarded respect for form criticism (though to him, Caesarea Philippi marks a real advance, and "one reason for writing the book is surely that of collecting the primitive traditions that are in danger of being lost") and is more impressed than most scholars by Wilfred Knox's nine written sources for the gospel, supplemented by oral tradition. He accepts the Roman and Petrine affinities of the gospel, but does not think it could have been written by John Mark of Jerusalem; he is reduced, in consequence, to an unknown, unevidenced, and improbable Gentile Christian author at Rome. He inclines to a date between A.D. 71 and 75.

Some of his *obiter dicta* are not entirely felicitous. To be told in this year of grace that I John is a second century production sounds somewhat dated, and in general his criteria of criticism are puzzling. For instance on page eight we read: "The words of institution at the Last Supper are developed slightly" (how does he know?) "but there is not yet" (*italics mine*) "a command to repeat the celebration" (1 Corinthians was written, on his dating, nearly twenty years earlier!).

This is a useful book, though not reaching the high standard of some volumes in this series. The student who quails before massive tomes on Mark will turn to Johnson with relief and no small profit. It is not, however, a great book.

E. M. B. GREEN.

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

By James Hardy Ropes. (Oxford University Press.) 117 pp. 7s. 6d.

That four New Testament lectures delivered in 1934 by a Harvard Professor, however distinguished, should reappear in a completely new edition in 1960, may seem unnecessary labour on the part of his publishers. No one would suggest that New Testament scholarship has not developed considerably since Professor J. H. Ropes first gave these lectures on the character of the Synoptic Gospels. But, as Professor D. E. Nineham says in his new preface to this edition, the direction and conclusions of these studies provide not only an illuminating commentary on the progress of New Testament discussion in the 1930's, but also a valuable point of reference today.

Professor Ropes worked against a background of intensive and detailed attention to source-criticism, which in his day drove a scholarly wedge between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics. So he follows here the then prevailing disposition to label St. John "late", (pp. 90-92), but concentrates his whole attention not so much on the *sources* of the Synoptists (the conclusions about these abroad at the time he mostly assumes) as on their object and method. And in the course of a lucid

analysis Ropes makes some acutely perceptive deductions. He questions, for example, the existence of "Q", and in so doing voices an uneasiness which is still felt about this particular suggestion.

At the same time the author is forced by his own thesis—that we must take seriously the personality and aim of each Synoptist if we are to understand him—into the difficult position of denying that the writers of the first three Gospels were "authors" in the same sense as St. John (a questionable enough way of stating the case even then), but insisting none the less that the Evangelists deliberately "shaped" their material, to the point, sometimes, of invention (*cf.* Mark's "elaboration" of interesting stories, for instance, p. 19; and Luke's treatment of reported speech, p. 61).

Yet this is a penetrating book which needs to be pondered still, and which has indeed helped to crystallize a good deal of our current thinking about the Gospels. That we may not recognize the part Professor Ropes has played in this, is in itself sufficient justification for the republication of a book that deserves to be more widely known than perhaps it is.

S. S. SMALLEY.

COMMENTARY ON I AND II TIMOTHY AND TITUS.

By William Hendriksen. (Banner of Truth.) 404 pp. 15s.

This commentary was first published in the U.S.A. in 1957 as part of the author's New Testament Commentary. Like his commentary on St. John, it was reprinted in this country in 1959 as one of the volumes in the Geneva Series of Commentaries, the first of which, Calvin's commentary on Joel, was published exactly 400 years before! Biblical studies have not stood still during that period and Dr. Hendriksen has to deal with many problems unknown in Calvin's day.

There are forty-two pages of introduction, most of which represent a vigorous defence of the Pauline authorship of the Pastorals, in tone somewhere midway between the deft parrying of Donald Guthrie and the darting counter-thrusts of E. K. Simpson. Dr. Hendriksen is abreast of most of the modern writing on the problem (though Guthrie's work was not available to him) and he deals with much of it with considerable thoroughness. A long footnote also tackles the problem of the *hapax legomena* in Tit. ii. In the introduction he also attempts a detailed reconstruction of Paul's movements after his release, though he admits that his suggestions lack certainty.

The theology of the commentary does not discredit the series to which it belongs. In I Tim. ii. 1, 4, 6, "all" is taken to mean "all men without distinction of race, nationality, or social position", not "all men individually, one by one". (However, the parallel instances adduced for this usage of "all" are hardly compelling for this passage.) In II Tim. iii. 15f. full weight is given to *theopneustos* and the idea that it is adjectival in this sentence is dismissed. Bishops come in for a fairly thin time and *episkopos* is normally rendered "overseer". The interpretation of II Tim. ii. 14 is perhaps surprising, in that God's

remaining faithful is taken to refer to His faithfulness in carrying out His threats to those who apostatize.

Despite some elaborate diagrams and the occasional alliterative aid, this is not an easy book to read. By today's standards (however much they may be deplored) 400 pages make a long commentary on the Pastorals and there are instances of too much repetition. Italics are strewn along our path in unhappy profusion and the author's didactic manner does not always commend itself. But there is a great deal of solid worth in the book and at 15s. it is, of course, a bargain.

R. E. NIXON.

I AND II PETER AND JUDE : INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY.

By C. E. B. Cranfield. (S.C.M.) 192 pp. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Cranfield's new volume on the Petrine Epistles and Jude is a welcome addition to the S.C.M. series of Torch Bible Commentaries. The section on *I Peter* is a revision of his earlier commentary, published in 1950, and the clear and practical approach which we learned to appreciate and expect from the author of that book reappears also in this.

The modest size of the commentary encourages its author to avoid total immersion by criticism, and to draw out the theology and application of the Epistles in well-defined language. But it may well be that for some this very fact proves frustrating when it means that important critical issues are treated summarily. This will no doubt be the case in the Introduction to *Jude* and *II Peter* (pp. 145ff.). For while Mr. Cranfield defends the apostolic authorship of *I Peter* against the claims of pseudonymity (pp. 13-16), and opts for Jude the Lord's brother (on the Helvidian theory) as the author of that Epistle (pp. 146-8), he rejects out of hand the Petrine authorship of *II Peter*. He feels that the evidence points conclusively to the use of *Jude* by *II Peter*, and dates the former not earlier than 70-80 A.D. He believes, also, that the specifically "Petrine" references (such as i. 16-18 and iii. 1) are too good to be true—it seems that we are caught both ways—and that patristic attestation tells against Petrine authorship. He therefore concludes that *II Peter* is a pseudonymous (though authoritative) document belonging to the first half of the second century. There are several issues not faced here—including the evidence suggested by the christology, eschatology, and hellenism of the Epistle—without a consideration of which the denial of apostolicity is perhaps over-hasty.

Mr. Cranfield has his own solution for the composition of *I Peter*, and takes up a position mid-way between the proposals of Professor Cross and Professor Moule mentioned on pp. 12f., namely, that an already extant (baptismal?) sermon was incorporated in a letter addressed to the churches mentioned in i. 1, together with fresh material "written with the present situation of those particular churches in mind" (p. 13). His treatment of the *descensus*, also (pp. 102ff. and 109f.), should not be overlooked.

No one will fail to find illumination from the exegetical skill of Mr. Cranfield apparent throughout this book, particularly since he writes

with both a devotional and a scholarly reference. All three commentaries will prove helpful for both purposes.

S. S. SMALLEY.

JEREMIAH.

By H. Cunliffe-Jones. (S.C.M.) 287 pp. 15s.

However excellent the idea underlying the Torch Bible Commentaries published by the Student Christian Movement Press, as it expanded the series was bound to run into major difficulties. If 127 pages are needed for Hosea and 150 for Isaiah xl-lv, it is obviously impossible to deal adequately with Jeremiah in 287. To have produced a larger commentary would have been to burst the limits of the series—it is already the most expensive of the volumes published—to have divided it into two would have meant small sales for the second, for this is the inescapable dilemma to the commentator on Jeremiah. Dr. Cunliffe-Jones deserves all praise for having attempted this almost impossible task and having done so well in it. We cannot doubt, however, that the reader will constantly find himself asking questions which the commentary makes no effort to answer.

The main weakness in the work has been created by the problems of literary criticism. Though the author has been influenced by recent works which minimize the amount of editorial matter, he has not been prepared to go all the way with them. In addition he has been unwilling to recognize that a certain amount of possible editorial matter is in fact in the spirit of Jeremiah, and our interpretation of the book as a whole will be little influenced by our views on their authorship. The general reader is apt to be unsettled by a constant question mark being raised as to the authorship of certain passages and phrases. This has, however, more serious results. One of the greatest weaknesses of the older literary criticism was its willingness to simplify the understanding of the prophet and his message by the elimination of everything that did not conform to a preconceived picture. This led in turn to a frequent failure to understand the prophet fully. There are traces of that here. An example is the application of the concept of prophetic "exaggeration" to chapter ii. So far from this chapter showing exaggeration, it deals with plain facts, but facts as seen by God, not man.

If there is a reprint, it would be an advantage to include a table of the chronological order of the main sections.

H. L. ELLISON.

A COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS.

By David Dickson. (Banner of Truth.) 538 pp. 15s.

David Dickson lived from 1583 to 1662, and laboured both as a local minister in Ayrshire and, later, as Professor of Divinity at Glasgow and Edinburgh successively. This "Brief Explication of the Psalms" was part of his contribution to a series planned by a group of his fellow ministers to provide "short, plain, and practical expositions upon the whole Bible". Accordingly, it is not an all-purpose commentary: one should not go to it for guidance on a point of translation (for it is based solely on the English) or for light—except in passing—on dark sayings;

it has rather the merits and consequent limitations of a good "Bible Reading", in which the object is to edify rather than inform.

This object is fulfilled by an exposition which is always careful and always Christian. The reader is kept to the text, and to the context. Each verse or passage is first cited in full, then related to the flow of the Psalmist's thought, then applied, as its component phrases are turned this way and that for the display of their various facets, to the Christian in terms of the new covenant. It is a sober and responsible handling of the Psalms, not as objects of antiquarian interest but as "written down for our instruction, upon whom the end of the ages has come". If its best service to the reader is this constant relating of the old to the new, perhaps its chief merit after that is its patient attention to the apparently commonplace phrases in the text, over which he might otherwise be tempted to hurry in pursuit of the rarer delicacies.

Spurgeon is quoted as describing this commentary as "a rich volume, dropping fatness". Hardly that; but—what may be better—plain fare, homely and nourishing.

F. D. KIDNER.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

By Thomas Watson. (*Banner of Truth.*) 241 pp. 8s.

Thomas Watson, minister of St. Stephen's, Walbrooke, was ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1660. Three hundred years later this reprint by the Banner of Truth Trust enables us to perceive what a wonderful and faithful expositor this man was and to regret the harsh treatment which he and so many other good men of God received at the hands of the Establishment. But no doubt the Puritans themselves could be awkward customers, and their political allegiance was often suspect!

Watson's style is similar to that of Matthew Henry and Samuel Rutherford. His exegesis of the Lord's Prayer is microscopic in its detail and intensely practical in its application. From the assertion that God is our Father he draws out no less than thirty different lessons. He lists twenty-seven subtleties of Satan whereby "he seeks to corrupt and flyblow our holy things". To the question "how many steps may a man take in his way to the kingdom of God, and yet miss it?" he gives no less than six answers. Illustrations abound and are drawn from classical and ecclesiastical history as well as from the Bible; there is a sprinkling of Latin epigrams and a wealth of pithy, pungent sayings and analogies, such as, "prayer is the gun we shoot with, fervency the fire that discharges it, and faith is the bullet which pierces the throne of grace".

This is the third and final volume of Watson's exposition of the Westminster Assembly's Catechism, all of which has now been reprinted. At 8s. its price is extremely reasonable even if the type is rather small.

L. E. H. STEPHENS-HODGE.

THE KIRK IN SCOTLAND.

By James Bulloch. (*St. Andrew Press.*) 230 pp. 25s.

The quatercentenary of the Reformation in Scotland has been followed with interest south of the border. In Scotland itself a number of

books have issued from the press in which the great events of 1560 and succeeding years are once again put on record and interpreted for men and women of today. Dr. Bulloch's is one of these. A well printed volume, the book is written in an informative and captivating style, and should be read by all who wish to understand the Scottish Reformation. Quotations from the Scots Confession of 1560 and contemporary writings help us to visualize the tremendous transformation brought about by the rediscovery of the Word of God and the re-establishment of the supreme authority of Holy Scripture over against the usurped authority of a corrupt church which no longer brought to men the transforming message of the Gospel.

In the Bible men heard again the voice of God, and in obedience to that voice they found a new quality of life and a new understanding of what the Church is for. Yet they had no intention of founding a new church. It was still the old church, cleansed and revived, but brought again into line with what it had been in the first century of our era.

It is a pity that our Scottish Episcopal brethren boycotted the 1960 celebrations. For the settlement of 1560 was not anti-episcopalian. The dioceses remained—in charge of superintendents, and, in public worship, frequent use was made of the English Prayer Book of 1552 in the preparation of which Knox himself had had a hand, as well as Knox's own freer liturgy. The "hard" Presbyterianism of Andrew Melville, itself a counter-blast to Bancroft's doctrine of the divine right of bishops, had not yet arrived; nor had the later Puritanism which was to make the worship of the Church of Scotland similar to that of English non-conformity. Against these and other subsequent events (many of them largely political), the settlement of 1560 seems innocuous enough, and a joint participation in the celebrations might have created an atmosphere more favourable to reunion.

There were differences, of course. The English Reformation was led by bishops, the Scottish by laymen. The emergence in Scotland of the elderate meant that the layman was no longer prepared to play a purely passive part in Church affairs. He must be given spiritual responsibility, in face of this strong and vigorous expression of the priesthood of all believers, the notion of prelatical episcopacy was bound to fall, especially when the deeds of men like Cardinal Beaton were still remembered and abhorred.

So the impasse remains. How can it be resolved? Surely as Dr. Bulloch says, by looking, as the men of 1560 looked, "past the church to Christ for the answer," not in terms of "the words of man, but the Word of God". Only a rediscovery of the authoritative Word of God in Scripture can bring us together in true fellowship and make the Church once more the living messenger of God to a world which has forgotten Him.

L. E. H. STEPHENS-HODGE.

PRESBYTERIAN AUTHORITY AND DISCIPLINE.

By John Kennedy. (St. Andrew Press.) 118 pp. 15s.

In spite of its title, this book should be read by every Anglican incumbent and its contents put over to the members of his congregation. For it deals with a problem which is common to all who exercise a

pastoral ministry, the problem of lax membership. Why do those who consider themselves members of the Church sit so loose to their obligations? Why is there so little pastoral concern for one another among those who belong to the same congregation?

The reason, says Dr. Kennedy, is the loss of allegiance to the Bible as authoritative for daily living. "Non-churchgoing and unopened Bibles go together . . . if the Church is to exercise salutary authority it can only do so by awakening its members to the authority of the Word of God." Agreeing with Dr. Bulloch that the rediscovery of that authority four hundred years ago produced the Scottish Reformation, he goes on to urge that the same discovery be made again today.

Discipline has taken extreme forms in early Presbyterianism, and is not a popular word today. But it is a part of mutual Christian love. To discipline someone means to treat him as a disciple. It means helping each other to worship God and to serve one another.

The assumption that the average man does not need leadership is wide of the mark. He needs it desperately. Each church member, whether he be on the Kirk Session (or P.C.C.) or not, should be prepared to exercise leadership on behalf of others. This can only come about by "a shared interest in the Gospel". Not more rules, but a greater intimacy, a greater concern for others, is needed here. For to live the Christian life is to live under the authority of the Word of God in the fellowship for the Church. There is no room for the *laissez-faire* individualism which has become the scourge of so much Protestant religion. For the authority of the Pope the Reformers substituted the authority, not of each man's own wish to do as he pleases, but of the Scriptures with their demand that each man live for others and for God.

L. E. H. STEPHENS-HODGE.

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

By James Bannerman. (*Banner of Truth*.) 2 Volumes. 480 and 458 pp. 30s. the set.

This is "a Treatise on the Nature, Powers, Ordinances, Discipline, and Government of the Christian Church". It consists of lectures repeatedly delivered in New College, Edinburgh. They were first published in 1869, and are here reprinted. The treatise provides a full and thorough treatment of its subject. By present day standards it is somewhat wordy and repetitive; but the style is clear and coherent.

After a brief exposition of the nature of the Church, there is extended discussion of the relation of Church and State, and of the authority rightly to be exercised by the Church in regard to both faith and worship. In connection with the latter there is detailed consideration of the use of the Christian Sabbath, the character of the ordained ministry, and the nature and efficiency of the Sacraments. Finally, there is an examination of the different forms of Church polity and government, in which the Presbyterian system of the author is compared and contrasted with the papal, episcopal, and independent systems. Appendices occupy the concluding 110 pages.

As an example of the author's exhaustive and analytical treatment, and of his special interest in institutional development, we may notice

that he distinguishes no less than five meanings of the term "church", all, he contends, to be gathered from the Scriptures. There are (1) the whole body of the faithful, living and departed, who are spiritually united to Christ; (2) all those throughout the world who outwardly profess the faith of Christ; (3) the local congregation; (4) a number of congregations associated together under a common government; (5) the local congregation as represented by its rulers and office-bearers. He finds scriptural support for the last two uses of the word by declaring, first, that after the addition of many thousands "the Church at Jerusalem" must have consisted of more than one congregation; and, second, that the command of our Lord to "tell it to the Church" must, in the light of current Jewish synagogue practice, have been understood to mean—refer it to the elders or authorized rulers. Presumably, therefore, he would be more ready than the present reviewer is to claim scriptural support for using the term "church" both of a denomination and of its administrative hierarchy.

ALAN M. STIBBS.

INTRODUCTION TO DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

By E. A. Litton. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Philip E. Hughes. (James Clarke.) 608 pp. 27s. 6d.

The current fashion of reprinting the works of earlier generations of theologians undoubtedly carries with it a measure of rebuke towards the contemporary church, for it would certainly seem that we lack the giants that used to live in these parts. However, few rebukes could be received with such readiness and welcome as we must extend to this old friend in new apparel. The publishers most certainly deserve thanks for providing Litton in a volume which it is a pleasure to handle and read—a vast improvement on the crabbed print, not to mention collapsing spines, of treasured second-hand copies!

Litton's own theological position may be described as a moderate Calvinism. The remarks wherein he supposes himself to have grasped the nettle of particular redemption (pp. 233ff.) reveal how far he is prepared to go, and where he tries to draw his main lines of doctrine. Nevertheless, though thus taking up a position himself, he is able to give clear indications of the major trends of opinion on every topic he discusses. The greatest gift he brings to the immense task of a book of this scope is his ability as a historian of doctrine. Often his own statements of the more complicated doctrines (notably, the Person of Christ, pp. 203ff.) are lacking in clarity, but rarely does he fail to communicate the mind of the great teachers and writers.

Of course, Litton has his defects. It may be petty to ask for everything, but none the less we could do with a much greater discussion of Inspiration than he gives; and certainly the doctrine of the Holy Spirit should be made the topic of a special section, and not be relegated to incidental references. Litton seems to have a blind spot when it comes to dealing with the Old Testament. To speak of it as "the Jewish revelation" (p. 95) is an unpromising start. He holds "the Levitical ritual" to be "a system of dumb elements until we study it in conjunction with the Epistle to the Hebrews" (p. 25); his treat-

ment of circumcision and passover (pp. 453ff.) fails to discern the true scriptural setting and meaning of these ceremonies, and in consequence (Litton's blind spot) Infant Baptism is totally inadequately treated.

The editor has touched the work of Litton so skilfully that every reader will wish for more. His footnotes, far from numerous, are models of exactness and lucidity, and touch those points of Litton's argument where he is most in need of help or correction. We could allowably ask, however, for greater use of sub-headings in some of the longer sections—notably the very valuable discussion of the Pelagian Controversy (pp. 145ff). It would also have been valuable if he had supplied an up-to-date book list to accompany each section of the work. Since few readers will share with the reviewer the mind-stretching experience of reading Litton from end to end, and most will wish to use him as a reference book, it is a pity that this edition lacks a Subject Index—there was a brief Index of Matters in the 1882 edition: even this would be better than nothing. Even if the additional material necessitated an increase in price, it would be well worth considering for any future reprintings.

J. A. MOTYER.

THE DOCTRINE OF OUR REDEMPTION.

By Nathaniel Micklem. (Oxford University Press.) 115 pp. 12s. 6d.

This is a reprint of the Lent book which Dr. Micklem wrote in 1943 at the invitation of Archbishop Temple. Whether books on the atonement have any right to be charming is, perhaps, open to question; but, at all events, this is a charming book. It is written in a vein of fastidiously refined and carefully calculated sentimentalism, which might well please cultured Oxbridge very much. Like Cardinal Newman, Dr. Micklem has a sharp, manly mind at the service of a feminine sensibility, and it is the latter of which one is most conscious here.

The book is a series of vignettes of biblical thoughts and Christian theologians. It is so slight a book as not to have required more of its author than to beautify with his own graceful style some of the things that the standard text-books say. Thus, the biblical section takes for granted the views that in Scripture blood sacrifice signifies, not the ending of life in death, but the release of life to invigorate, and that propitiation means the removing of man's guilt and defilement, but not of the divine wrath which that guilt and defilement has evoked. It is of a piece with this that God's penal wrath against sin is nowhere mentioned, and that justification, being a legal word, and one that expresses the averting of legally required retribution, is dismissed as an inadequate term for expressing a personal relationship based on grace. Even in the chapter on the Reformation, with its fine quotations from Luther and Hooker and Bunyan, Dr. Micklem carefully conceals (for one cannot believe that so perceptive a scholar does not know) the fact that the central religious, and therefore theological, concern of these men was to find peace with God from the terrors of an awakened conscience, and that the reason why they glorified in the cross and the imputed righteousness of Christ was that these things spelt to them a God-sent deliverance from God's own just wrath against their sins.

By deleting God's wrath from his theology, Dr. Micklem sentimentalizes grace ; God's love to sinners is thus reduced to humanitarian pity, and becomes something we can take for granted. Hence we are not surprised to find Dr. Micklem taking up with a wishful universalism. It is a natural progression of thought.

Our judgment is that theologically this book is not serious. The charm of Dr. Micklem's sentimental journey through the golden groves of æsthetic theology is no substitute for careful attention to what the Bible actually says.

J. I. PACKER.

DOCUMENTS OF THE BAPTISMAL LITURGY.

By E. C. Whitaker. (S.P.C.K.) 220 pp. 30s.

This volume (No. XLII of the Alcuin Club Collections) is welcome because it makes available in an extremely handy form a compilation of evidence concerning the doctrine and practice of Baptism in the Church during the first seven or eight centuries of its history. It brings together not only the different liturgical rites of which the extant literature gives us knowledge, but also sets out extracts from the patristic authors that are relevant to the subject. The book is also helpfully annotated.

Welcome though it is, it must be said, however, that this work is symptomatic of the currently fashionable practice of running to the patristic writings as though they were authoritative or normative for us as we reconsider the needs and situation of the Church today. There is much that the Fathers have to communicate to us, it is true ; yet, as Bishop Jewel admonished long since, " we may not build upon them, we may not make them the foundation and warrant of our conscience, we may not put our trust in them." Despite all the good things that we find in them, a study of their writings shows how soon, and often at points of vital importance, the pristine teaching of the New Testament was contaminated by superstition and complicated by alien accretions. This is quite definitely the case where the sacrament of Baptism is concerned, as these pages sufficiently demonstrate. There is so much in these ancient documents that is remote from the evangelical simplicity of Holy Scripture. They reflect for us the threat to Christianity that constantly lurks in the inevitable development and organization of ecclesiastical life and labour. We must ever be ready to go back beyond the Fathers (as indeed they themselves would have wished us to do) to the pure fount of our religion. That is the only proper road of the reformation of the Church, in every age ; and that is precisely what the Reformers of the sixteenth century endeavoured to do, while at the same time they valued the Fathers and sought to retain all that was best in their writings.

A desideratum is now a companion to this volume which will set out the documents of the baptismal liturgy which owe their origin to the spiritual revival of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, together with suitable citations from the writings of the Reformation Fathers. Our revisers of the present day seem all too prone to pass over these men to whom, under God, the Church owes so much. Let them, in going back to the Fathers, go back by way of the Reformers ; and, above all,

let them go back to Holy Scripture as the supreme authority and norm for all that is taught and done in the Church. PHILIP E. HUGHES.

CHRISTOPHER DAVENPORT, FRIAR AND DIPLOMAT.

By John B. Dockery, O.F.M. (Burns and Oates.) 180 pp. 21s.

Christopher Davenport, nephew of John Davenport, the Puritan patriarch of New England, was a Coventry boy who committed his conscience to the Pope while at Oxford, probably in 1613. Having become a Franciscan monk and a theological teacher of some distinction at Douai, he returned to England in 1630 under the name of Franciscus à Sancta Clara to help run the reconstituted English Franciscan province. This was his work for half a century. He belonged to the ecclesiastical retinue of two queens, Henrietta Maria and Catharine of Braganza, and was evidently something of a courtier. He won some distinguished converts to the Papal faith, including Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester. This book chronicles Davenport's career in painstaking detail. One wishes that the learned author had been less exclusively concerned with Franciscan fortunes, and had laboured a little harder to bring Davenport to life; as it is, the book is rather dull.

Davenport's chief claim to fame is that he was the first to show in print (in *Deus, Natura, Gratia*, 1634) that if you put upon the words of the Thirty-Nine Articles a non-natural and unintended sense, you can make them teach the doctrine of the Council of Trent. He wrote this demonstration, apparently, to encourage Charles 1 to pursue his rosy dream of a concordat with the Pope. (After all, even a king has a certain duty to please his wife.) Davenport wanted to convince Charles that the Church of England was already nearer Rome than was commonly thought. But his book was censured by the Roman authorities, who, then as now, were not interested in the idea of concordats with Protestants, and Englishmen generally found it offensive rather than convincing; though it had a certain vogue at Charles's court, where admiration for things Roman was regarded as a mark of good taste. The book came into its own, however, in the last century, when Anglo-Catholics sought justification for subscribing the Articles while holding Tridentine opinions. Newman knew it, and is said to have based Tract XC on it, and Canon F. G. Lee published an ornate translation of it in 1865.

In these days, when the Papacy professes such deep interest in reunion, the story of how the Papal authorities snuffed out Davenport's endeavours after a reunion between Rome and Canterbury based on mutual recognition makes timely reading. For it is an article of the Papal faith that the Roman church never changes, and was never wrong.

J. I. PACKER.

VICTORIAN MINIATURE.

By Owen Chadwick. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 189 pp. 25s.

The growing list of Professor Chadwick's writings already affords ample proof of his versatility as a historian and of his gifts as a literary man. This, the latest addition to the list, is a little gem. It is a

vignette of life in a small English village during the middle years of last century, with the spotlight focussed on the two leading personages of the village, the parson and the squire. The Reverend William Wayte Andrew, Vicar of Ketteringham in Norfolk, and Sir John Boileau, squire of the community, were, as Dr. Chadwick acknowledges, "two good men"; both were gentlemen of integrity, sincere and conscientious in the discharge of the duties attaching to their respective positions and closely attentive to the welfare of the village and its inhabitants. Sir John, inclined to be passionately imperious, regarded the whole village, including the church and the vicar as *his*. Mr. Andrew, on the other hand, regarded the religious spheres as his proper preserve. The recurring tensions over the years were, however, the result of regrettable misunderstandings, which, in most cases, might have been avoided had the two men consulted each other as man to man instead of acting independently, rather than of fundamental incompatibilities of temperament. The Vicar, indeed, was a zealous and faithful pastor of his flock, diligent in instruction and visitation, persevering in intense private prayer for his parishioners by name (including the squire and his family), and an earnest proclaimer from his pulpit of the doctrines of divine grace—a model, in fact, which could, with great advantage, be studied and followed by the country parsons of our day. In the end the victory was God's, triumphing in the heart of His servant (with all his faults) and, through his earnest ministry, in the hearts of squire and people: we see a village carefully attentive to biblical preaching, squire and parson are touchingly reconciled, and the squire's household is blessed with the assurance of evangelical experience. Although this delightful book is not a religious tract for the time, the story it tells points clearly to the blessing which follows a faithful ministry, as well as to the failures and frailties which hamper the service of even the best of men. It is, in short, an intensely human story in which the grace of God, always secretly at work, has the last word. We are grateful to Dr. Chadwick for telling it with such effective simplicity.

PHILIP E. HUGHES.

A STUDY OF HISTORY.

By Arnold J. Toynbee. Abridgement by D. C. Somervell. (Oxford University Press.) 1,003 pp. 45s.

To abridge the ten tomes of Mr. Toynbee's *magnum opus* into a single volume is no minor achievement, and Mr. Somervell's work of condensation is praised by Mr. Toynbee himself as "masterly". This has been done by stages: the abridgement of Volumes 1-5 was first published in 1946, the abridgement of Volumes 7-10 eleven years later, and now there will be a welcome for the entire abridgement within the covers of a single book. Mr. Somervell, indeed, has not been content to be a mere abbreviator, but has brought into play his own powers of exposition and has even, with Mr. Toynbee's sanction, introduced illustrations from his own mental storehouse.

Mr. Toynbee sees the distinctive contribution of the historian as being "to give us a vision of God's creative activity on the move in a frame which, in our human experience of it, displays six dimensions". To

the four-dimensional frame of Space-Time in which the physical cosmos moves there is added a fifth dimension, namely, that of life, evolutionarily conceived. And the historical angle of vision shows us "human souls, raised to a sixth dimension by a gift of the Spirit, moving through a fateful exercise of their spiritual freedom, either towards their Creator or away from Him". It would, however, be a mistake to conclude that Toynbee's is a distinctively Christian approach to the study of history. That it is not, but is marked by religious relativism and moulded by humanism (albeit of the most cultured type) is apparent both from this work and from his other writings. His attitude to history is not, in fact, and on his presuppositions could not be, governed by biblical premisses.

Convinced that only in the light of an intelligible whole can an understanding of the parts be obtained, Mr. Toynbee sets out to focus attention on the whole of history. The pattern which he claims to discern in his study of human civilization is one which, he contends, recurs with each successive civilization, namely, a universal state or empire emerging from a time of troubles, followed by an interregnum during which there appears the establishment, internally, of a Church and the external phenomenon of a barbarian *Völkerwanderung*, both of them the products of a dying civilization. The work is a comparative study, in terms of this pattern, of the twenty-one societies which Mr. Toynbee has identified throughout the course of human history. However strong may be the disagreement either with his governing concept or with questions of a more incidental nature, the intrinsic value of Mr. Toynbee's contribution to the study of history cannot be gainsaid and the remarkable scope of his erudition will not cease to be admired. The book has been excellently produced by the publishers.

PHILIP E. HUGHES.

ANIMALS AND MAN IN BIBLE LANDS.

By S. F. Bodenheimer. (E. J. Brill, Leiden.) 232 pp. 36 Dutch guilders.

The various Faculties of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem have already established a fine tradition of research into local problems. In this book Dr. Bodenheimer, lately Professor of Zoology there, brings together a great mass of historical material concerning the development of human and animal life in the regions around Palestine, extending from Iraq in the north-east to Egypt in the south-west. The treatment is methodical and the whole is set out as a scientific paper, which indeed it is.

The early chapters cover briefly the geology and topography of the area, before dealing with the faunal history as recorded by the palaeontologists. The findings in the Mount Carmel caves are set out in detail, showing that the fauna of the Pleistocene period, which began about a million years ago, are now well known, while much has also been discovered about early man in this area. Authorities agree that the climate of this region has not suffered major changes since those days and that the climate today is not noticeably harsher than it was two or three thousand years ago.

Dr. Bodenheimer devotes his second main section to detailing the animals revealed in the written records of Ancient Palestine, Ancient Mesopotamia, and Ancient Egypt, examining all the conclusions of earlier writers and attempting to check identifications by using all the lines of investigation available. The classical authors have been thoroughly searched and their index of citations fills some sixty column inches. Scripture references are listed in another appendix, but there is no bibliography of the numerous modern authorities, nor are the titles always mentioned.

The third section covers the period from the Neolithic to the end of the Iron Age (4,500 to 300 B.C.) and it is largely a history of animals and their relationship to man in that time. As might be expected, the books of the New Testament are largely omitted from treatment, though there are references to fishing, pearls, and scorpions in the Gospels and the Revelation. The author accepts the findings of the extreme higher critics and his final chapter seeks to collate the zoology of the Bible, particularly in the sacrificial codes, with Frazer's analysis of comparative folklore. This, however, does not seriously affect this erudite and painstaking work, which will be of tremendous value to all interested in the historical aspect of animal life of Bible lands.

Such a work is inevitably heavy going for the layman but it is heavier than really necessary, for the English is sometimes stilted and difficult, while a number of words and expressions are hardly current English. This is a great pity. The translation from the original Hebrew is by the author himself and his command of English is extremely good; there are many who would gladly have checked his manuscript and proofs and thus amended such words as "evertibrate animals" and such misprints as "3,000 B.C." for "300 B.C." GEORGE CANSDALE.

AN ALL ROUND MINISTRY.

By C. H. Spurgeon. (Banner of Truth.) 396 pp. 10s. 6d.

The background of this book is Charles Spurgeon's work of training young men for the Ministry, beginning in 1855 with one student.

The "pickings" in this book are precious and full of wisdom. Much of its considerable bulk is of human interest, intimate and humorous, but of historical value only in giving a picture of Spurgeon and his time. One has to remember, too, that these talks were addressed to eclectic Christians of a century or so ago, and also many of the allusions and controversies are in quite another perspective these days. The remainder is more than valuable. Spurgeon approaches his work as a Baptist, a Calvinist, and a Puritan. Many who share these ingredients will scarcely follow through Spurgeon's views and methods regarding the Church of England if one may judge by experience in interdenominational and ecumenical work. His picture of the Church of England in his treatment of the return of superstition is hardly in perspective taking the "home Church" as a whole, and certainly not of "Evangelicals timid as hares"; and of the High Church Party being more consistent with the Prayer Book (apart from the Articles).

Many of his men must have been saints indeed, facing poverty and loneliness. Some, as allusions show, lost a sense of vocation, some

became proud with success, and some became place-seekers. The trials and temptations of the ministry are much the same in each generation and in every denomination.

Spurgeon begins by inquiring whether the candidate has the *gift* of preaching—otherwise he ought to seek another sphere. Learning is called for, for ministry demands mind, but the main business is to be well instructed in theology through a study of the Scriptures. Non-theological preaching is full of blunders. "When grace abounds, learning will not puff you up." Leadership is a necessity involving a development of "individuality". Egotism must be avoided at all costs, but so must its opposite. Ministers are stewards, that is, put in trust with their Master's goods—"the mysteries of God". The call then is for consecration and devotion—a consecration which out of weakness has learnt sympathy and the place of supplication, and is marked by self-sacrifice facing financial poverty and drudgery where necessary.

Within this book lies a challenge to any form of Christian ministry presented with compelling conviction, lucidly expressed in penetrating phrases with lively imagination, and enlightened with most apt and telling illustrations.

HUGH JORDAN.

THE MINISTRY OF THE SPIRIT.

Selected Writings of Roland Allen. Edited by David M. Paton.
(World Dominion Press.) 208 pp. 12s. 6d.

Roland Allen was born in 1868 and died in 1947. His first major work, with the provocative title *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* was published in 1912, nine years after ill-health had forced him to resign from his work as a missionary of the S.P.G. in China and return to England. This book, and its sequel, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which hinder it* (published in 1927) are those by which he is best known. They startled multitudes of missionaries and many missionary organizations into a difficult and sometimes painful rethinking of the principles upon which virtually all overseas missionary work has been based in the last 150 years. If Roland Allen occasionally made extravagant assertions, if he sometimes swept aside too lightly criticisms based upon the difference between conditions in St. Paul's day and ours, it is more and more generally admitted that his main line of argument is unanswerable, namely that it is the business of missionaries (representing the Christian Church) not only to preach the Gospel but also to plant churches, and churches which from the outset should be truly indigenous—self-governing, self-propagating, and self-supporting. As Dr. H. R. Boer has said, Roland Allen was "a man of singularly clear vision and prophetic outlook". If, as Dr. Alexander McLeish points out in the brief Biographical Memoir here printed, "we have begun to learn again to subject customary church and missionary practice to the scrutiny of the New Testament," that re-appraisal is due to Roland Allen more than to any other single person. It is interesting to find that "he prophesied to his son that his writings would come into their own about 1960"!

But the present volume contains valuable and sometimes lengthy

extracts from other works of Roland Allen which are now out of print. First, and perhaps most important, are the sixty pages from a small book, *Pentecost and the World*, published in 1917. It is virtually an examination of the Acts of the Apostles, in which he patiently and very cogently makes it clear that the whole book is "the story of the coming, and the results of the coming, of the Holy Spirit" (p. 3), "that the Spirit created in the apostles an internal necessity to preach the Gospel" (p. 27), that "it was the coming of the Spirit of Christ into the souls of men which led them to see the need of their fellowmen" (p. 33), that "the apostles, moved by the Spirit, went forth as ministers of the Spirit" (p. 39), and that "St. Luke considered the gift of the Holy Spirit necessary for every Christian" (p. 49). Moreover, "the gift of the Spirit" is "the sole test of communion" (p. 52), and if that is so, how tragic "if Christians acknowledge that others have the Spirit, and yet do not recognize that they ought to be, and must be, because spiritually they are, in communion with one another" (p. 57). Space forbids further comment. The book deserves to be pondered, prayed over, and most of its findings accepted and put into effect.

FRANK HOUGHTON, Bishop.

FAITH'S VENTURE : A SHORTER LIFE OF HUDSON TAYLOR.

By Mrs. Howard Taylor. (*China Inland Mission.*) 160 pp. 6s. 6d.

Within four years of the centenary of the founding of the China Inland Mission, a paper-back shorter life of its founder, Hudson Taylor, is published by the C.I.M. in conjunction with its agents, the Lutterworth Press. Written by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Howard Taylor, it is actually a reprint of the shorter Life first printed a good many years ago in North America, at a time when Marshall Broomhall's shorter Life, entitled *The Man who Believed God* was having a phenomenal sale in this country. It must be remembered that in our own generation there are many thousands of Christian people, even including many missionary enthusiasts, who are not steeped in the Hudson Taylor literature, and who ought to be challenged with the story unfolded with simplicity, artistry, and deep spiritual fervour in *Faith's Venture*. As a young curate, the writer of this review propped the second volume of the larger Life against a hot water jug at meals in his lodgings, and after reading it twice, he could do no other than offer for service with the C.I.M. *Faith's Venture* may well have a similar effect.

FRANK HOUGHTON, Bishop.

A PRESENT HELP.

By Marie Monsen. (*China Inland Mission.*) 103 pp. 5s. 6d.

Miss Marie Monsen is a Norwegian missionary, now over eighty years of age, who, in 1959, published an account of some of her adventures in China. 17,000 copies were sold in the first six months. This little volume is a translation from the Norwegian by Joy Guinness, herself the daughter of C.I.M. missionaries well known to Miss Monsen. The missionary community generally know her primarily as one whom God used mightily in a revival in North China which began in 1927. Now

she has written, to the glory of God, a record of some of His mighty acts in delivering her over and over again from bandit dangers. Factual as they are, these stories may seem incredible except to firm believers in the supernatural. They lead up to a longer record of Miss Monsen's capture by Chinese pirates. For this greater test of faith the earlier experiences had prepared her. No wonder that she was ready to be God's instrument in revival, since in such intimate ways He had proved Himself to be a God nigh at hand, "a very present help in trouble".

FRANK HOUGHTON, Bishop.

ZAMBEZIA AND MATABELELAND IN THE SEVENTIES : *The Journals of F. H. Barber and R. Frewen. Ed. by Edward C. Tabler. (Chatto and Windus.) 212 pp. 45s.*

The journals of two travellers in Matabeleland and around the Victoria Falls, in the eighteen-seventies have been brought together to form an important source-book for the early colonial history of that part of Southern Africa. Frederick Barber was a South African born hunter, who also painted the Falls. Richard Frewen was a well-connected Englishman, a somewhat unpleasant character, who blamed upon the missionaries the bad attitude of his servants, whose loyalty he was incapable of holding, and fermented trouble between the British and King Lobengula.

The interest to the missionary historian is marginal, but the journals have been excellently edited, and it is good that they should be thus preserved for posterity.

J. C. POLLOCK.

CEYLON, NORTH INDIA, PAKISTAN : A STUDY IN ECUMENICAL DECISION.

Edited by Stephen F. Bayne, Jr. (S.P.C.K.) 257 pp. 8s. 6d.

It is nearly fourteen years since the Union which created the Church of South India. The Ceylon Scheme and the North India/Pakistan Plan are slowly but steadily moving towards a similar climax, which is in sight. In January 1960, the Metropolitan of the Church of India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon was authorized to inquire whether other parts of the Anglican Communion would be prepared to enter into relations of full communion with the proposed united churches. To assist their decision, Bishop Bayne has brought together the documents in the case. They should be studied by every Anglican concerned with the forming of opinion. Bishop Bayne restricts his editorial matter to a minimum; the subtitle is somewhat a misnomer for this book is not a study but the essential source book for a study in Ecumenical Decision. After reading the editor's admirable introduction, the general reader, unfamiliar with the ground, might be advised to turn directly to Archdeacon Sully's paper (pp. 233ff.) for a digestible account of the development of the North India Scheme; then revert to page ten and, by way of the C.I.P.B.C. decision of January 1960, embark on the documents—the Scheme and the Plan; Lambeth's Counsel; changes since 1958.

Neither editor nor documents make quite clear to the uninitiated that

the American Baptists, who apart from the Anglicans form the only major Christian group in East Pakistan (as also in Assam, India), never joined the negotiations. British-connected Baptists in East Pakistan, a small group, have withdrawn since the present volume went to press. In West Pakistan and North India the (British) Baptists remain important participants.

Close attention will be paid to the Lambeth counsels and the reaction to them, both by C.I.P.B.C. and the Negotiating Committee. And every Anglican concerned for the growth of Christ's Church overseas will look forward, informed by this excellent compilation, to the answers given by the Anglican Communion during 1961, and to the final decision by all participating churches, in 1963. J. C. POLLOCK.

INDIAN PILGRIM.

By Rosalie Wheaton. (Salvation Army.) 164 pp. 5s. (paper).

Narayana Muthiah (1872-1959) was the son of a secret Tamil Christian in Palamcottah, South India. As a boy he was an ardent Hindu, and he attended a Salvation Army tent in order to heckle, and, if necessary, persecute. Converted, he became an ardent Christian, and spent a lifetime of devoted service as a Salvation Army officer. He was the first Indian to be made Commissioner, and his travels in many parts of the world made him widely known. While the primary interest will be to Salvationists, all Christians will profit from this record of a faithful life. J. C. POLLOCK.

THE SELECTION AND TRAINING OF MIXED CHOIRS IN CHURCHES.

By Charles Cleall. (Independent Press.) 132 pp. 9s. 6d.

To read Mr. Cleall is to be encountered by an enthusiast and a craftsman. He has expert knowledge, and ideas of his own, about the technique of choral training, to which he gives two informative chapters, and about the task of securing the right membership of a choir, which he approaches with a firmness only equalled by his resource (there is an intriguing account of a choir whose lack of good tenors was overcome not by tolerating poor ones but by enrolling ten women "who could sing comfortably and effectively an octave below middle C"). But church music is no mere craft to this author, nor even an applied art: it is not to be harnessed to serve the ends of evangelism (which is regarded with the deepest distrust) or of teaching, but is to exist in its own right as a thing of beauty, and thereby as a path to God. He quotes with approval the dictum: "Religion is, a search for values, and an attempt to secure them"; and its corollary: "we are unable to differentiate religion from aesthetics and ethics."

It would be a pity if this art-theology were to lose this book any potential readers, for the writer's passionate concern for artistic integrity is, though wrongly based, a fine thing and a worthy rebuke to the opportunism of those who would cheerfully conjure up, if not the devil, at any rate his tunes, in the interests of "giving the people what they like". F. D. KIDNER.

LEAST OF ALL SAINTS.

By Grace Irwin. (Paternoster.) 256 pp. 10s. 6d.

ANDREW CONNINGTON.

By Grace Irwin. (Paternoster.) 251 pp. 10s. 6d.

These two books are well written and easy to read. They tell the story of Andrew Connington, heir to a family business, who decides to go into the ministry, and then, after popular success as a preacher, undergoes an old-fashioned conversion experience—and meets difficulties. He is sustained in these (they appear mainly in the second of these novels) by his wife, until even she is estranged by some of his attitudes, only later to realize that he has been faithful to the truth. Finally driven out of his fashionable Toronto church, Andrew finds rewarding work in a slum district on the outskirts of the city.

These two books are above the ordinary run of religious novels, mainly because there is a sustained narrative interest (though the sequel, *Andrew Connington*, is inclined to be a bit episodic) and sense of conflict, and the main characters, are well conceived and delineated. One is always puzzled, however, by this sort of book, and the greater the technical qualities the greater the puzzle. For whom is this type of literature intended? It cannot compare in subtlety and precision with the psychological novel that now holds the field. Its slant also disqualifies it from achieving any wide general appeal. Indeed, even those who are sympathetic with the point of view expressed may well share Keats's suspicion of literature that has such a palpable design upon us. In these novels that design is always to the fore, in some instances with a rather repulsively ungenerous narrowness. At times one even feels that Andrew is right too often. This tendency, together with one or two embarrassingly sentimental and melodramatic incidents, represents the main weakness of Miss Irwin's work.

For those who like this sort of thing these novels will be very acceptable, for there can be no doubt that in general they are good of their kind; but those who don't are not likely to be converted by them. They are not as good as that.

ARTHUR POLLARD

ST. FRANCIS DE SALES; SELECTED LETTERS.

Translated with an Introduction by Elizabeth Stopp. (Faber and Faber.) 318 pp. 25s.

This is the latest volume in Faber's series of Classics of the Contemplative Life. In it Miss Stopp has made a selection of some one-hundred-and-twenty-five letters from St. Francis de Sales' voluminous correspondence. The letters cover a period of nearly twenty years from 1603 to 1622, and are addressed to numerous correspondents, but two or three of these stand out from among the rest, notably Jane Frances de Chantal, co-foundress with St. Francis of the Order of the Visitation, Madame de la Fléchère, and Madame Angélique Arnauld of Port Royal and later a Jansenist. The book is furnished with an excellent introduction, useful indices, especially one of correspondents with brief biographical notes attached, and a good bibliography.

St. Francis is well known as a mystic and contemplative writer. He was born and spent the greater part of his life near Geneva, and from 1602 to his death in 1622 was bishop of Geneva (although, of course, the Romanists were excluded from the city itself). During this time, however, he visited Paris and was much in demand as a preacher and confessor. It was there that he came to know Madame Arnauld. He died at Lyons in the last days of 1622 and was buried in his home town in the church of the first Visitation convent at Annecy.

There is much in this volume to show St. Francis's powers as a spiritual director. There is a fine balance and unruffled quality about his advice. It is not therefore surprising to find him telling Madame de la Fléchère that "the most important thing of all is to make sure of having tranquillity, not because it is the mother of contentment but because it is the daughter of the love of God and of our will's resignation". With this there goes a continued and understandable stress on humility, a quality abundantly manifested in St. Francis's own life. This also involves an emphasis upon renunciation. In their turn these qualities of humility and renunciation require for their attainment "great desire to practice our exercises faithfully and well in what concerns prayer and the virtues".

Much as we may find admirable in this volume, there remains, however, much that is reprehensible. Reading books of this kind gives one renewed cause of thanksgiving to God for the Reformers. There are the usual authoritarian claims of Rome (only the Church can interpret the Bible aright, for example), there is commendation of the practice of flagellation, and there are traces of a sort of sacramentalism that is well nigh superstitious. Miss Stopp, apparently, finds no difficulty in accepting everything. Competent as her work is and useful as it will be, she must pardon many of her readers if they find themselves unable to follow her as far or as unquestioningly as she herself goes.

ARTHUR POLLARD.

THANKS BE TO GOD.

By Robert H. Rodenmayer. (*James Clarke.*) 126 pp. 9s. 6d.

This is the first British edition of a book by an American clergyman. It is an eminently readable series of studies based on passages in the General Thanksgiving. Mr. Rodenmayer writes out of an obvious wealth of pastoral experience, and he writes, moreover, as a man who has benefited from that experience and now uses it for the benefit of others. Here is a wise pastor. Sentences such as the following illustrate this fact: "An act of thanksgiving, however small and unimportant it may seem, always enlarges one's horizons." In the course of the book, Mr. Rodenmayer touches a wide range of topics from the Creation to the Crucifixion, from sin to faith in and love towards God. All of them he illustrates with a supply of anecdotes and stories at once appropriate and impressive. There is nothing profound or original about this book; it is a frankly popular attempt to say a little about the central truths of the Christian faith within the framework of a series of meditations on the General Thanksgiving. As such it is successful.

ARTHUR POLLARD.

BRIEF NOTICES

An event of real significance in Evangelical publishing is the appearance of the first volumes in the BANNER OF TRUTH paper-back reprints. The following are now available: Bishop J. C. Ryle's FIVE ENGLISH REFORMERS (160 pp., 2s. 6d., originally entitled LIGHT FROM OLD TIMES) and FIVE CHRISTIAN LEADERS (192 pp., 2s. 6d., originally entitled CHRISTIAN LEADERS OF THE LAST [i.e. 18th] CENTURY; Andrew Bonar's ROBERT MURRAY MCCHEYNE (192 pp., 2s. 6d.); Henry Law's THE GOSPEL IN GENESIS (188 pp., 2s. 6d.); Brownlow North's THE RICH MAN AND LAZARUS (125 pp., 2s. 6d.); Louis Berkhof's SUMMARY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE (191 pp., 3s.); and THE LETTERS OF JOHN NEWTON (191 pp., 2s. 6d.). These books are within the range of every pocket, young and old. They should be purchased and read, and given away as gifts.

Another important reprint from the same press is MEN OF THE COVENANT (534 pp., 15s.), Alexander Smellie's *chef d'œuvre*, which brilliantly tells the story of the Scottish Covenanters and their struggle for survival in the face of appalling religious intolerance and persecution—a book to be read, pondered, and treasured, especially by the youth of our day who will be inspired by the serene, more-than-conquering faith of these Christian heroes of three hundred years ago.

JUNGLE DOCTOR PANORAMA (Paternoster, 144 pp., 35s.) gives a comprehensive pictorial impression of the work and environment of the Jungle Doctor in Central Tanganyika. The many eloquent photographs, taken by Ossie Emery and Edwin Udey, are accompanied by a commentary by the Jungle Doctor himself, Paul White, and provide a graphic record of contemporary missionary activity. It is a book for adults rather than children.

RIVAL THEORIES OF COSMOLOGY (Oxford University Press, 64 pp., 9s. 6d.) brings together three talks given on the B.B.C. in 1959 by Professor H. Bondi, Dr. W. B. Bonnor, and Dr. R. A. Lyttleton on modern theories of the structure of the universe and the subsequent discussion by them, under the chairmanship of Dr. G. J. Whitrow, of the differing points of view they propound. The symposium forms an admirable introduction for the man-in-the-street to the rival theories of the origin and constitution of the universe which are currently being considered by physicists and astronomers. Dr. Bonnor champions a relativistic theory, Dr. Bondi the steady-state theory, and Dr. Lyttleton an electrical explanation of the latter. These stimulating talks form an excellent sequel to Professor (now Sir) A. C. B. Lovell's Reith Lectures on THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE UNIVERSE, and remind us that we are living on the threshold of an exciting new age of cosmic physics.

All who have an interest in the Reformation will be happy to see a new printing of the THE SCOTS CONFESSION OF 1560 (St. Andrew Press, 80 pp., 10s. 6d.) which, until superseded by the more extensive Westminster Confession of 1647, was the official doctrinal statement of the Church of Scotland. This reprinting is enhanced by a helpful introduction, mainly historical in character, from the pen of the late Professor G. D. Henderson and a modern English version of the Confession prepared by Dr. James Bulloch. We would recommend that this famous statement of faith of 400 years ago could with benefit be studied in conjunction and comparison with the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion by parish groups in our own Church of England, for in this way many may learn to appreciate more adequately the richness of the spiritual heritage that has come down to us in trust from the Reformation.